



Daily Report

East Europe

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16 October 1991

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Yugoslav Economic Delegation Arrives

*AU1510202891 Tirana ATA in English 1907 GMT
15 Oct 91*

[Text] Tirana, 15 October (ATA)—An economic delegation of the SFR of Yugoslavia, headed by the federal deputy secretary for economic relations with foreign countries, Bozo Jovanovic, arrived to our country on October 15.

The talks between the delegations of the two countries concerning the hitherto promotion and further development of economic trade relations began at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations on October 15.

IMF, World Bank Admits Albania as Full Member

*AU1510203091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] News agencies report that at the opening of the plenary session of the annual joint meeting of the IMF and the World Bank in Bangkok today, Albania was admitted as a full-fledged member of these large international financial organizations.

Alia Signs Trade Union, Economic Emigration Laws

*AU1510082891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Text] A representative of the President's Press and Information Office has informed an ATA correspondent that Law No. 7.516 of 7 October 1991 on Trade Unions in the Republic of Albania and Law No. 7.517 of 8 October 1991 on the Employment of Albanian Citizens Outside the Territory of the Republic of Albania have been submitted for signing to Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania.

Today, on 14 October 1991, the president announced the approval of these laws.

People's Assembly Passes Law on Bond Issuance

*AU1510202491 Tirana ATA in English 1903 GMT
15 Oct 91*

[Text] Tirana, 15 October (ATA)—The People's Assembly continued its proceedings in plenary session on October 15, before noon. The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Kastriot Islami, acquainted the deputies with the draft-laws to be examined and proposed the creation of a commission to control the activity of the National Information Service. This proposal, he said, is done on the basis of the suggestion put up at the round table of the president with the political parties.

The deputies who took the floor aired their opinions on this proposal. In general they did not agree on the creation of this provisional commission. By majority of

votes the proposal for the creation of a provisional commission to control the activity of the National Information Service (N.I.S.) was not passed. The deputies charged the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly that pursues this issue to deal with it.

Later, the deputies who took the floor aired the worries of their zones.

After the break, in the other today's sitting the parliament examined the draft-law on the "Emission of Bonds" which was passed. The proceedings of October 15 wound up here. The People's Assembly continues its plenary sitting on October 16, at 0900.

Hunger Strike of Puke Villagers Enters 9th Day

*AU1510161991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1430 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Telephone report by Rrok Lecaj from Puke]

[Text] Bugjon, Kokedode, and Gralisht are three villages in one of the most remote mountain areas of Puke District. The poverty and destitution of these villages has reached a point at which it can no longer be endured, and the villagers have lost patience and trust in what was promised to them and enshrined in the law by the People's Assembly and the National Stability Government.

How long do we have to wait? We are dying from our suffering, and we never see a day that brings a smile to our faces or cheers our hearts. These two phrases are the angry refrains of the honest and forthright highlanders of Bugjon. For nine days now, 40 grown men, young peasants, workers, and teachers have shut themselves up on a hunger strike in the building of the primary school and are half-distracted in their pitiful agony. [Word indistinct] are sorry for the hunger strikers, but the aged mothers and fathers of these strikers and their sisters, brothers, and school pupils, who have left their lessons and all their other work to support their striking fellow villagers, feel no less pain.

What are they demanding? No single demand of the hunger strikers mentions comfort or luxury because the villagers of Bugjon and Puke District are not used to tasting such things. They are well acquainted with the country's economic difficulties, and there is therefore no sense in which they are asking the impossible. They are insisting on the fulfillment of those demands that are fully fair and feasible.

We will mention one of the most important of the 16 points of the petition addressed to the District Pluralist Executive Committee, the National Stability Government, and the People's Assembly, in which the strikers demand what is sanctioned in Paragraph 2 of Article 5 of the Land Law, which states that in hilly and mountainous areas, where peasant families cannot be granted a sufficient amount of agricultural land, the state will take measures to guarantee other means of subsistence

through subsidies, increased investment in job creation, the introduction of social assistance, and the controlled migration of the population on the basis of a program to be drawn up by the Council of Ministers.

The economic situation of these people has deteriorated seriously, to the extent that many families have no income even to buy bread. Leaders of the Pluralist Executive Committee, the political parties, and the Independent Trade Unions went to Bugjon recently to meet and talk with the strikers. They held a seven-hour meeting yesterday evening and discussed and decided to solve all those demands that are within the competence of the District Pluralist Executive Committee. However, many of the strikers' demands, including the most important ones, are the province of the National Stability Government, which, it seems, has still not expressed the proper interest in solving the grievances of the Bugjon hunger strikers and all the peasants of Puke District.

In illustration, let us mention this fact: Forty strikers between the ages of 18 and 65 have been suffering hunger for nine days, and not only neither the prime minister nor his deputy but also no representative of the National Stability Government has visited them.

Commission Discusses National Intelligence Service

*AU1510202691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] The People's Assembly Permanent Commission on Defense, Public Order, and the National Intelligence Service met today on the premises of the People's Assembly, chaired by its chairman, Baki Shehu. The commission considered to what extent the Law on the Organization of the National Intelligence Service has been enforced. The commission heard the report of Irakli Kocollari, chairman of the National Intelligence Service, on the service's organization and the problems that have been encountered. The commission asked questions and discussed the changes that have been made in the methods and practices of the National Intelligence Service as compared with the former State Security Service, the observance of legal criteria in appointing the service's personnel, measures to reorganize the National Intelligence Service's college and the revision of this college's curriculum, and so forth.

The commission drew attention to the need to accelerate the approval of local by-laws and to enforce the Law on the National Intelligence Service. In conclusion, the commission decided to inspect in various ways the actual enforcement of the Law on the National Intelligence Service in the service's headquarters and district branches. The conclusions of this inspection will be submitted to the People's Assembly within 10 days.

Creation of Party of Democratic Prosperity

*AU1510201291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] On 15 October, the justice minister approved the application of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity [Partia e Prosperitetit Demokratik te Shqiperise], having observed that the party's program, statute, and other documents are in accordance with the Law on the Main Constitutional Dispositions and the Law on Political Parties. His order, which was delivered to the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity, comes into effect immediately.

Social Democratic Party Urges Early Elections

*AU1510172191 Tirana ATA in English 1301 GMT
15 Oct 91*

[Text] Tirana, October 15 (ATA)—The newspaper "ALTERNATIVA SD" carried on October 15 a statement by the Steering Council of the Social Democratic Party which says among the other things:

The Steering Council of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] analysed the difficult complex situation our country is experiencing in this stage of transition from the communist system to the genuine democratic system. Proceeding from the analyses of the current situation the Social Democratic Party recommends that the law on land should be completed with other elements in order to prevent troubles emerging from its application. The Stability Government, the executive committees and pluralistic councils in villages should do their best that the SMTs [tractor stations], depots of seeds, chemical fertilizers, irrigation sources, etc., be given as soon as possible to the peasants in order not to leave the lands barren, but to till and sow it as soon as possible. The Social Democratic Party upholds that in the center of the process of privatization is social justice in order to not to hit severely the strata of the people; it upholds that auction under the conditions of great poverty is to the liking of speculators alone, those who have an internal and external support and foreigners as well. To this end it fully supports the protests of the trade working people who oppose this method of privatization. Social assistance must also be applied by stages and be accompanied parallel with the opening of new work fronts.

National Bank must become owner of all national assets. The SDP jumps at the conclusion that untimely elections are indispensable. The best period for free and democratic elections is February-March, 1992.

In collaboration with the Albanian opposition, the SDP is determined to struggle through democratic means to the triumph of genuine democracy, the recovery of economy, the happiness of the life of the Albanian people.

Continued Fall in Industrial Production Noted

*AU1510083291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network
in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Text] A report from the Central Statistics Directorate on the fulfillment of economic targets in September 1991 states that economic performance continued at the same sluggish pace during this month, too, with a decline in almost all sectors, especially chemicals, mineral extraction, oil, construction materials, light industry, the food industry, freight transportation, and exports.

The production of some industrial goods, such as enriched chrome, ferrochrome, blister copper, nickel, nails, urea, knitwear, and so forth was higher than in August. The hydroelectric stations are continuing to produce a satisfactory amount of electricity.

Compared with August, the situation regarding many key products has deteriorated, and deficits have grown. There were shortfalls of 18,000 tonnes of copper ore, 44 tonnes of copper wire and cables, 7,000 tonnes of coal, and 8,000 tonnes phosphate fertilizers. Shortfalls were also recorded in the production of some consumer goods such as cloth, shoes, kitchen utensils, and glass products.

General industrial production in September was about 12 percent or 97 million leks less than in August, and

production in the first nine months of this year was 5.6 billion leks less than in the first nine months of 1990.

Independent Trade Unions Hold Conference

*AU1410152691 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT
14 Oct 91*

[Text] Tirana, October 14 (ATA)—The newspaper "SINDIKALISTI" reports that the first conference of the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Tirana held its proceedings these days.

A resolution of this conference stresses among others:

The Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Tirana will fight to broaden the trade union movement. It will persist on a democratic draft-law to meet the demands of our organisation and to be realised through a mass democratic debate of all the members.

As all the other democratic forces, the Union of the Independent Trade Unions, as a great force, will powerfully support and back up the legitimate demands of the people of Kosovo for independence and self-determination and for the status of the republic as well as will endorse all the democratic movements for the eradication of communism in Albania.

Protest Note on Macedonian Question Delivered

*AU1510213691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Today the Party of the Yugoslavs in Macedonia handed over a protest note to the Bulgarian Government at the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade. The note protests the refusal of Bulgarian official policy to recognize the existence of the Macedonian people and the fact that the Ilinden Organization was not allowed to take part in the latest parliamentary elections in Bulgaria.

The note states, and I quote: The recent, more frequent statements by Bulgarian politicians, denying the existence of the Macedonian nation, provide evidence of the Bulgarian authorities' intention to permanently expropriate the history and culture of the Macedonian nation and to represent them ostensibly as the inheritance of the Bulgarian people, the note states.

The note appeals to the Bulgarian authorities to restore the human and national rights of the representatives of the Macedonian people in Pirin Macedonia.

Popov's Intentions in Signing Treaty Questioned

*AU1510180191 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian
9 Oct 91 p 6*

[Commentary by Ivaylo Vasilev: "Inner Political Goals of the Bulgarian-Greek Treaty"]

[Text] The installation of a "hot" telephone line, cooperation in the cultural and educational spheres, contacts in the military sector, development of relations based on the common European-Christian humanitarian traditions, promotion of mutual relations between the two Orthodox churches, and, last but not least, an independent foreign policy—the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborly Relations, Cooperation and Security, signed by the Bulgarian and Greek prime ministers, Popov and Mitsotakis, is promising us all these things for the next 20 years.

The treaty confirms the improvement of mutual relations between the two Balkan countries and is expected to play a stabilizing role in the further development of our Balkan Peninsula, which is currently disrupted by ethnic and interstate controversies.

So far, so good. If we add the reassurances pointed out by the two prime ministers that the treaty does not contain any secret military clauses and is not directed against any third countries, everything seems perfect.

Nevertheless, one disturbing fact remains. It is the excessive haste with which the treaty was signed. According to the Greek prime minister, it should be enforced even before the legislature has ratified it.

This is strange. Usually such documents are submitted to prolonged and thorough discussions.

Why the haste?

In the euphoria of signing, we seem to have overlooked the domestic political situation in both countries. Nevertheless, the treaty has some domestic policy dimensions. It was necessary to sign it at this very moment, precisely. The question is who needed this.

The trial against Greek editors in chief, the tension in the relations with Turkey (especially after the attempt against the Turkish diplomat's life in Athens), the state deficit, the 20-percent inflation, the forthcoming "belt tightening," and the danger that Greece may remain at the periphery of the EC—the Greek prime minister is expected to find a remedy for all these little troubles. A foreign policy coup, such as the aforementioned bilateral treaty, evidently makes the troubles less painful for Greek society and is likely to consolidate the prestige of the conservative government to some extent.

What about the Bulgarian side?

The treaty was signed a few weeks prior to the elections. Despite the fact that the government's term of office is expiring in a few days, the Popov cabinet has committed itself to a document a new government is expected to implement. Why? Perhaps the prime minister is convinced that he will be head of the next government? Or should this be compensation for the foiled Athens conference?

Maybe the prime minister hopes with this effective move to gain a slight precedence over the other politicians in the country. It is a well known fact that Caesar took Rome after conquering Gaul.

However, someone may object by saying that Mr. Popov even renounced his deputy's seat. Yes, that is so, but, amid the excitement of the election campaign, we seem to have forgotten that presidential elections are supposed to follow the parliamentary elections.

'Tragic' Situation at Kozloduy Plant Assessed

*AU1510091091 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
10 Oct 91 pp 1, 4*

[Report by Dimitur Genchev: "The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant Is in a Tragic State; Specialists Are Leaving"]

[Text] The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is falling apart and has never been in a more deplorable state. This was announced yesterday by the commission appointed by the Council of Ministers to examine the condition of the power plant. The main reason is the lack of service personnel. The extremely incompetent management of the plant is reportedly responsible for the situation, and nearly all official institutions and personalities who were involved in the administration of Kozloduy are guilty. This is what the report of the commission, headed by Docent Yanko Yanev, reported.

Out of the 72 million leva spent over the past 10 years for the training of specialists in charge of reactors No. 5 and

No. 6, 20 specialists were trained for 12 million leva. This was discovered by Tsvetan Bochev, a member of the commission. A total of 3 million leva from the whole amount was filed under the rubric "miscellaneous." A total of 1.5 million leva was spent for "office material and paper," while the rest of the amount was spent on additional wages for the entire personnel of the plant, Prof. Bochev explained.

Obsolete equipment and materials worth between 250 and 450 million leva are kept in the storage premises of the "Nuclear Power" Economic Enterprise. The Power Supply Committee and the "Investment Control" Directorate purchased transportation, construction, and other equipment worth several hundred million leva. These amounts were transferred free of charge to other organizations, some of which have nothing to do with the energy sector, the report says. The report was also submitted to the Chief Investigation Department.

Instead of the 1.474 billion leva envisaged in plans for the construction of reactors No. 5 and No. 6, 3.186 billion leva was paid. This was attributed to shortcomings in the equipment Soviet organizations are responsible for, according to the commission's document.

The government has never discussed any of the reports on the situation of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, stressed Prof. Belokonski, who is also a member of the commission. Prof. Bonchev added that, unless urgent measures are adopted for preventing the continuing exodus of personnel from the plant, the plant will be put out of operation, and this would involve a national disaster because of the power shortage. Such a disaster would immediately follow, while little children and old people would be the first victims of the cold, stated Nikita Shervashidze, director general of the National Institute of Technical Research.

The safety of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant could be improved tenfold under appropriate management, provided that attractive incentives are created for the work of high-ranking operational personnel. This is the conclusion of World Bank experts, Mr. Yanev said. Nuclear power plant operators in Western countries are paid wages that are normally 6-8 times higher than the average wages in the respective country, he pointed out.

A monthly amount of 6,000 leva is the basic wage proposed for specialists in the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, announced Ivan Grozdanov, Power Supply Committee spokesman, yesterday in an interview with the daily 24 CHASA.

Army Official Says Army Needs Ignored
AU1510143591 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 9 Oct 91 p 4

[Article by Major Ivan Genov: "Realities and Illusions"]

[Text] One of the conclusions of the annual congress of the International Institute of Strategic Studies was that strategic insecurity dominates over illusionary planetary guarantees. Insecurity results not only from the disintegration of the bipolar model of stability but also from continuing regional conflicts. As events show, such conflicts cannot be tamed or neutralized through collective security measures that are in their infancy. Only hours after concluding the latest cease-fire agreement in The Hague, fighting erupted along the Adriatic coast with even greater ferocity, against the background of an increase in the number of European observers and the diplomatic shuttle mission of Lord Carrington, all of which is reminiscent of the epic battle of Don Quixote tilting at windmills.

It appears that the old proverb "if you want peace, prepare for war," which has been tested by life, still cannot be replaced by the beautiful slogans of planetary guarantees. Such are the realities, especially in the Balkans.

Taking those realities into consideration, we nevertheless adopted the principle of reasonable sufficiency—that is, guarantees for the survival of our country in the event of an aggression until international security measures are activated. The minimum material and financial resources necessary for this objective have also been envisaged. According to the revised budget of the Ministry of Defense, 4,473.4 million leva are to be allocated for this year, more than half of this amount for rear protection. However, during the first nine months, the Ministry of Finance allocated only 2,169.7 million leva—918.2 million less than the envisaged amount. According to the agreements on the import of military equipment, credit lines to the tune of 720 million leva were to be opened by 1 October. However, a credit line of 78 million leva, or nine times less than the envisaged amount, was opened. Poverty is creating great problems in military training and in providing the Army with arms, combat equipment, spare parts, and ammunition. In addition, it directly affects combat and mobilization readiness.

To say that the wheels of reform are stuck and that the state treasury is empty is to use election slogans. What we are talking about is the insecurity of our national security. I am alarmed by the thought that, being up to our necks in party quarrels and election shows, we have reached the border of unreasonable insufficiency precisely at a moment when war is raging across our western border.

Reportage on Latest Election Results

Extraparliamentary Parties

AU1510183091 Sofia BTA in English 1705 GMT
15 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 15 (BTA)—None of the extraparlimentary forces which polled an overall 15 percent of the vote in the elections stands a real chance of getting into parliament.

Having processed three-quarters of the tally sheets, the Central Electoral Commission announced that the Kingdom of Bulgaria Confederation got the largest percentage of votes among the extra-parliamentary parties: 1.94 percent. It received the required four percent minimum only in Pernik near Sofia (4.3 percent) and Gabrovo, central Bulgaria (4 percent).

Next comes the Bulgarian Business Bloc with 1.43 percent. A similar formation, the Bulgarian Business Party, polled less than 1 percent.

The only other party to get more than 1 percent of the vote is the Bulgarian National Radical Party (1.13 percent).

The poorest performance belongs to the Party of Free Democrats-Centre: 0.02 percent.

The Preobrazhenie Political Forum which went to the elections with an orange ballot-paper, traditionally used by the Bulgarian Agrarian Party-United, collected 0.55 percent. For the time being the BZNS-United is close to the 4 percent minimum. The Agrarian Party set up a coalition with the Constitutional Forum. Most of its supporters are in rural areas.

The Liberal Party-Pernik which took the green ballot-paper from the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party got as little as 0.32 percent. The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, somewhat above 3 percent of the vote, is more popular in the countryside. In Sofia it got just about 1 percent.

Both agrarian parties feared a possible loss of votes because they could not use their traditionally coloured ballot-papers. For this or for other reasons, their fears were realized: They may well find themselves out of parliament, just like SDS Centre and SDS Liberals which broke away from the Union of Democratic Forces.

Parties like the Bulgarski Orel Society Party, the two communist parties and the Svoboda Coalition for the Turnovo Constitution are also below 1 percent.

Results at 91-Percent Mark

AU1510203691 Sofia Khorizont Radio
Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Announcement by Dimitur Topliyski, member of the Central Electoral Commission, at the commission's offices in Sofia—live]

[Text] The summary figures for the latest results for the entire country by electoral districts received up to 2148 show the following:

Electoral protocols have been processed from 11,323 polling stations, so that 1,120 stations still have to send in their protocols. This represents 91 percent of the total number of polling stations.

The number of valid votes cast is over 5 million, or 5,095,419, to be exact. The percentages for the parties are:

Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—35.05 percent
Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—32.91 percent
Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United]—3.83 percent
Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]—7.00 percent
Nikola Petkov BZNS—3.34 percent
SDS-Center—3.25 percent
SDS-Liberals—2.92 percent

I am, of course, giving the standings for the parties that received more than 2 percent of the votes; I do not consider the other results and details necessary.

So far, the parties that will receive seats in the legislature are the SDS, the BSP, and the DPS.

I assume that during the night or early tomorrow morning we will have all the final results that are being sent by fax. When I say all, this means for us—or for me, at least—at least 99 percent of the results. We have not received protocols from a few electoral districts, but I believe that tomorrow morning it will be clarified according to electoral districts which settlements and municipalities still have to send in their protocols.

Results at 95-Percent Mark

AU1610104491 Sofia BTA in English 0949 GMT
16 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—The Central Electoral Commission reported that after processing 95 percent of the tally sheets, the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] had 34.89 percent of the votes. The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] won 33.03 percent and the DPS [Movements for Rights and Freedoms]—7.06 percent. These three political forces will be represented in the new parliament.

BSP Leader Lilov Accepts Election Results

AU1410114691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Aleksandur Lilov's first comments at the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] news conference were addressed to BSP voters. He expressed gratitude to those voters who remained loyal to the party. Afterward, he said the following:

[Begin Lilov recording] According to our assessment, based on information we have received, the elections as a whole took place in a calm and democratic manner. The Bulgarian voters were provided with the opportunity to freely express their preferences.

I reaffirm the position of the BSP and its leadership that we shall accept the election results as the Bulgarian voters produced them. When the election results are finally and officially announced, the BSP will accept the vote of the Bulgarian people. [end recording]

Election Results of Communist Parties Viewed

AU1610115591 Sofia BTA in English 1050 GMT
16 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 16 (BTA)—The Communist Parties have over 55,000 supporters in Bulgaria. According to the early returns of the Central Electoral Commission, the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) won 0.71 percent (or 36,994 votes), the Bulgarian Communist Party-Marxists 0.14 percent (7,340 votes), the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party 0.10 percent (5,409 votes), the Bulgarian Revolutionary Youth Party-Varna 0.14 percent (7,582 votes) and the Bulgarian Workers' and Peasants' Party-Varna 0.07 percent (3,752 votes).

SDS-Center Faction Acknowledges Election Defeat

AU1510210491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Report by Svoboda Nedeva on news conference given by Union of Democratic Forces-Center in Sofia on 15 October]

[Excerpts] The elections are a step forward in the country's noncommunist development, despite the fact that many Bulgarian voters will have no representatives in the new legislature. Dr. Petur Dertliev [leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party] stated at the start of the news conference.

In his view, the legislative opposition in the form of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] will not be constructive because the party has proved that it does not want to change. The centrist formations left outside the National Assembly—the Union of Democratic Forces-Center [SDS-Center], SDS Liberals, and the two Agrarian Unions—form a reserve from which the new ideas and the new beginning for our society will come, it was stated at the briefing. Dr. Dertliev considers that they are already putting forward candidates for an alternative development of our political life. [passage omitted]

In the present situation, a small party like the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] is in a position to dictate the country's political decisions. For this reason, Dr. Petur Dertliev considers that many compromises will have to be reached in the new legislature and that the new government will find the going especially difficult. [passage omitted]

SDS Council Nominates Dimitrov as Prime Minister

AU1510155691 Sofia BTA in English 1538 GMT
15 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 15 (BTA)—Mr. Filip Dimitrov, 36, lawyer, married, member of the Green Party and leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), is the union's candidate for prime minister. The future cabinet is to implement the SDS election platform.

This was decided at a meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council today. The Coordinating Council also discussed the possible holders of portfolios.

The SDS representatives in the incumbent coalition cabinet—Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov and Minister of Industry, Trade and Services Ivan Pushkarov—will certainly remain in the future cabinet. Together with Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev they formed the team which started the economic reform in Bulgaria.

The SDS has not yet considered the Ministry of the Interior. But it is categorical that the Ministry of Defence should be headed by a civilian.

The SDS will rely on the parliamentary support of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) in the formation of the cabinet but has not received information of DPS claims on ministerial portfolios. The BTA learnt that representatives of the SDS and the DPS will hold talks shortly.

According to all projections and incomplete unofficial returns from the Central Electoral Commission, the SDS is the number one political force in the second multi-party elections after Todor Zhivkov's ouster in 1989. The different parallel counts give it a three to five per cent lead over the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party. According to the Constitution, the president will ask the political force that won the most votes to form the future cabinet.

The SDS decision to nominate its leader for the prime ministry is unusual for Bulgaria. Last year the BSP won over 50 per cent in the elections but did not make its leader prime minister. It immediately started seeking a coalition with the opposition forces.

Today the Coordinating Council decided to nominate Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, for chairman of the National Assembly. He was the SDS candidate for the same post last year, but the Socialist-dominated parliament elected Academician Nikolay Todorov of the BSP.

Reactions of West to Election Results Analyzed

AU1510155191 Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT
15 Oct 91

[Commentary by Panayot Denev: "Foreigners Baffled by What Happened in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia, October 15 (BTA)—"Communism is Going" has been the most popular Bulgarian song for a year now. "Communism is Gone" is the new version which can be heard in the streets and squares bedecked with the blue flags of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The opposition coalition outran the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party by 5 to 7 percent of the votes but the important thing for Bulgaria now is that two-thirds of the electorate voted against communism, as SDS leader Filip Dimitrov told a huge rally here last night.

Unfortunately, the first reaction abroad and the reports filed by some one hundred foreign correspondents again showed that some news analysts are unable or unwilling

to grasp the real problems of a society which lived for almost 50 years in a hell which even George Orwell could not foresee.

Accustomed to modern parliamentary democracy, political scientists and analysts now have rushed to sum up the new situation in what used to be "the most loyal Soviet satellite in Eastern Europe," their invariable way of referring to Bulgaria. By transplanting mechanically notions and categories from the West European political scene, those self-confident professionals are almost sorry for the so-called reformers in the renamed Communist Party, for some radicals and centrists, and they even join the communists' propaganda chorus about the ethnic problems in this country.

Such commentaries merely show a total lack of understanding of what is going on in Europe's southeasternmost backwater. Authoritative European and American newspapers, news agencies, radio stations and TV networks have published quasi-analytical reasonings about a split of the Bulgarian opposition and a confusion of the Bulgarian electorate. This is the absurdest thing that could be said about Bulgaria at a time when the elections showed that two thirds of its people do not want communism. As to communism, the West has no idea what it is—to this very day.

What talk can there be of a split in the Union of Democratic Forces when several leaders, acting on orders from the renamed communist nerve centres, announced the establishment of new opposition formations. The former communists and the structures of the ominous state security, surviving under different guises, assigned them a definite mission: To simulate an opposition and to simulate a normal parliament. Against the background of the uncivilized manners of a society which has been deprived of proper political life for half

a century, their aspirations to project a European image are ludicrous. But these ambitions would have become dreadful if the people had not demonstrated categorically at the ballot box that they knew too well how things stood. The phantom formations calling themselves "SDS Centre" and "SDS Liberals" polled 2-3 percent of the votes and will not get into parliament. This is tantamount to a political death for their leaders.

For there was only one thing that mattered in Bulgaria on October 13: To break for ever with the absolutely unchanged cynical rule of the Communists. Everything else: Normally functioning parties, a working parliament, modern legislation, efficient executive branch and fair judiciary—all this is a matter of the hard future. A future for which the SDS assumes responsibility.

Regrettably, some Western analysts are trying to capitalize on the country's bedevilling ethnic problems, in tune with the Communists who are unable to concede defeat with dignity. There is no other way of interpreting some correspondents' allegations that the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms was the real winner in the elections. Those Bulgarian citizens, who were crushed and victimized by the communist regime until two years ago, do exist. They do have a right to a place on the political scene. By an accident of history, they have been living for centuries side by side with the Bulgarians. If they do not like anybody in Bulgaria, it is the Communists who committed outrageous enormities against them. Anything else is speculation by the former Communist Party which is clutching at the last straw of nationalism. It is only natural that, true to its traditions, it would try to manipulate people by the bugaboo of the future.

It won't work, because communism is gone. Even from Bulgaria. At last.

Miklosko Insists on Slovak Role in EC Agreement

*AU1510143891 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 10 Oct 91 p 2*

[Reply by Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko to a MLADA FRONTA DNES question, published in the "We Asked" column—place and date not given]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA DNES] The Slovak Republic is proposing its own wording of the preamble to the [CSFR's] association agreement with the EC. What is the gist of this proposal, and what will happen if it is turned down?

[Miklosko] The Slovak political representation demanded that the preamble to the association agreement contain the same wording as it contained in the preamble to the valid CSFR Constitution—that "the CSFR is a state consisting of two sovereign national republics...." The Czech side disagreed with this. The Slovak political representation, therefore, demands that the fact that the CSFR is made up of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic be mentioned in the association agreement in some way. We are convinced that, if we come to an agreement with the Czech political representation, the EC will be ready to accept the proposed wording.

Pithart: Slovak Position Endangers EC Agreement

*AU1510144291 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 10 Oct 91 p 2*

["fa, sla"—signed report: "Are We Going To Stay at the Platform?"]

[Text] Prague—"We are not going to react any longer to every change in the Slovak position. We are busy enough as it is. On 7 October, I wrote in a letter to Prime Minister Calfa that we insist that the association agreements be signed by the Federal Government, as conforms with the power-sharing laws, and that we believe that nothing should be incorporated into the preamble that might endanger in any way, or delay, our admission to the loose EC circle. Otherwise, we may have to wait at the platform for the next train, which will leave only at 0430 [sentence as published]. Romania and Bulgaria will be on that train. We insist that we depart on the same train as Hungary and Poland," said [Czech] Prime Minister Petr Pithart in response to our question about the Slovak demand that the preamble to the association agreement with the EC be changed. He went on to say that, for the time being, the Slovak demand is unacceptable to responsible negotiators. He cited the example of Spain, where Catalonia is not accentuated in any way. "Apparently, what was supposed to happen around the year 2000 [allusion to Slovak Prime Minister Carnogursky's statement in an interview for the French paper LIBERATION that Slovakia wants to become independent "around the year 2000"] is happening now. I am afraid that, if the Slovak Republic wants to carry its own chair and the flag with its own star even now [another allusion to a Carnogursky statement], it may not get past even the first European door." When MLADA FRONTA DNES retorted

that, according to Slovak Prime Minister Carnogursky, the EC delegation did not reject the Slovak proposal out of hand, the [Czech] prime minister replied: "As far as I have been informed, the EC delegation rejected the proposal as a matter of principle." Asked whether the discussion on relations between the Czech and Slovak parts of the federation would benefit from businesslike information on the movements of values and financial resources in both directions, the prime minister replied: "In a situation in which we do not yet have a fully operating market economy, this is extremely difficult. I am afraid that this would cause more disputes than if we leave matters as they are. However, if we fail to come to an agreement on the budgets, then we will have to venture into that difficult situation."

'Problematic' Parts of Slovak Constitution Viewed

*AU1610184391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 10 Oct 91 p 2*

[Report by Alena Melicharkova]

[Text] The Slovak National Council [SNR] commission for working out a single draft of the Slovak Republic Constitution wound up its two-day meeting in the Slovak National Council's recreational facility at Casta-Papiernicky yesterday. At a briefing held in the evening, SNR First Deputy Chairman Ivan Carnogursky, five other members of the commission, and the chairman of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic assessed the work of the commission so far.

The first important outcome of the meeting is the consensus on the structure of the constitution. It will consist of 10 chapters, and the commission will draw up a single joint draft of the constitution, which will be formulated in all its chapters as a complete constitution of the Slovak Republic. However, for passages that touch upon the problem of the common state, the commission will work out alternative wordings of the relevant articles. One of the versions seeks to concentrate all these problematic articles in a separate chapter—Chapter Nine of the constitution. I. Carnogursky said that, in his opinion, in this way members of the commission will be able to formulate a joint draft of the constitution. This draft proceeds from the seven separate draft constitutions that have been submitted by individual parties and movements. It transpired from statements by the other participants in the briefing that consensus has also been reached on the text of the preamble. Chapter One of the constitution will be called "Basic Provisions," Chapter Two "Basic Rights and Liberties," Chapter Three "Economy," Chapter Four "Legislative Power," Chapter Five "Executive Power," Chapter Six "Judicial Power," Chapter Seven "Local Administration," Chapter Eight "Symbols and the Capital," and Chapter Ten "Final Provisions." Chapter Nine would be the chapter in which the constitution would express itself on the common state.

KDH, HZDS Discuss Politics, Constitution

AU1510183391 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 12 Oct 91 p 2

[Frantisek Melis report: "In the Spirit of Understanding"]

[Text] Bratislava—The very near future will reveal what historical significance yesterday's—originally postponed—meeting in Zabolova Street in Bratislava will have for political events in Slovakia. Representatives of the two currently most influential political entities in Slovakia, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], held a meeting there.

Although the two chairmen—Jan Carnogursky and Vladimir Meciar—did not participate because of work commitments, both sides sent representative groups. Prior to the start of the meeting, KDH Central Secretary Jan Petrik said, on behalf of the hosts, that views on fundamental domestic political issues—the constitution, a state treaty, and a referendum—will certainly concur. HZDS Council Chairman Rudolf Filkus supplemented these remarks by saying that other issues may also be discussed.

The smiles on the faces of some of the meeting's participants after their more than two-hour long discussion indicated good news. It has to be said that the reporters present were not disappointed. The spokesmen from both sides—Michal Kovac (HZDS) and Ivan Carnogursky (KDH)—stated in unison that the talks were held in a constructive spirit of understanding and that their outcome is concurrence on points of view on drafting the Slovak Republic Constitution, on concluding a state treaty between the Czech and Slovak Republics, and on the superfluosity of holding a referendum to ascertain the people's decision on the constitutional and legal arrangement, because it is necessary to utilize other methods for this.

As Michal Kovac said, this was the first step toward calming the commotion on the Slovak political scene and, as Ivan Carnogursky confirmed, such meetings are extraordinarily necessary at the moment to unite points of view. Therefore, both sides have agreed to a further meeting on economic issues. It should be held as soon as possible, as this is an extremely sensitive topic, especially in Slovakia.

It seemed that the time had come, as Jan Petrik said, to demonstrate the Slovak political scene's domestic unity. Therefore, it is good if representatives of the two—until recently antagonistic—political entities confirm that there are no disputes between them that Jan Carnogursky and Vladimir Meciar could disagree on. They also realized that it is necessary to lay personal antipathy aside, because fateful decisions, in which petty squabbles have no place, are being made about the nation. Ivan Carnogursky believes that the Christian Democratic Movement's coalition partner—the Public Against Violence Movement—will not perceive these talks as a step toward the break up of the government and a legislative marriage of convenience, but as a step toward reaching an agreement with one of the

influential opposition forces. At the moment, Slovakia cannot hope for anything better than unity because time is flying inexorably, and we can no longer afford the luxury of wasting it in mere personal disputes, especially if our Czech partner comes to the negotiations with a relatively united point of view on fundamental issues.

Pithart: Screening Law Endangers State Functions

AU1510145591 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Oct 91 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Igor Sirota; place and date not given: "P. Pithart on the Screening Law: It Went Too Far"]

[Text] Prague—The adoption of the screening law by the Federal Assembly [on 4 October] has generated very diverse reactions, even among leading politicians. We asked Czech Prime Minister Pithart for his view:

[Sirota] Could the screening law affect you personally?

[Pithart] No, it could not.

[Sirota] What do you think about the screening law in the form in which it was passed by the Federal Assembly?

[Pithart] The ministers are now counting which losses they will not be able to avoid. Afterwards, the government, as a whole, will form its opinion. I believe, in particular, that the law went too far, that it will endanger [the execution of] state administration. The membership of the People's Militia, in particular, was sometimes a purely formal affair. We are now going to count our losses, which will not be small.

[Sirota] Do you think that the economic sector will be affected as well?

[Pithart] Of course, but the law will also affect the judiciary, the prosecutor's offices, and it can affect the police on a very large scale.

[Sirota] What will be the scale of what you have described as losses? Will these losses amount to thousands, or will the figures be even higher?

[Pithart] We are now only doing the calculations in the government. It is too early to say. I have not even had the text of the law in my hands.

[Sirota] How do you explain the lack of unity in the Civic Movement Club of Deputies in voting on the law?

[Pithart] In the same way in which I explain the frequent lack of unity that is displayed in other legislative clubs' voting. We are far from a state of unity in legislative clubs simply because parties and movements are only now taking shape.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 October on page 3 carries a 200-word "res"-signed report on a briefing given by the leadership of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) in Prague on 10 October. Josef Mecl, chairman of the KSCM Club of Deputies, is quoted as

having said that "hundreds of thousands of people might be affected" by the screening law.]

Dienstbier Opposes Law

*LD1210040991 Prague CSTK in English 1643 GMT
11 Oct 91*

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak foreign minister and chairman of the Civic Movement (OH), Jiri Dienstbier, said today he has doubts the screening law passed by the Federal Assembly (parliament) last week is in conformance with international legal standards.

The law bars from a number of public posts former collaborators of the STB Secret Police, heads of certain Communist Party bodies, and members of the Communist Party's armed people's militia.

"Failure to respect the presumption of innocence, the introduction of the principle of collective guilt, the denial of legal counsel and the humiliation of a great number of honest people who made mistakes in the past but who hurt no one, is no way to move towards a law-abiding state," Dienstbier told journalists.

He said a number of Czechoslovak jurists have expressed concern that the law might conflict with international legal standards, which Czechoslovakia has agreed to follow. He also said Council of Europe officials have expressed an interest in examining the law.

Dienstbier was repeating criticism of the law he expressed earlier this week.

Concerning economic reform, Dienstbier said cooperation between ministers from different political parties is allowing the Federal government to attack the problems of reform as a unified body.

Ministers Agree on Coordinated Food Policy

*AU1610115891 Prague CSTK in English 2222 GMT
14 Oct 91*

[Text] Prague Oct 14 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said the Czechoslovak Government and the Czech and Slovak agriculture ministers today agreed on a unified farm policy.

The Czech and Slovak Republics which make up Czechoslovakia, currently have different agricultural policies. This, together with problems stemming from privatization and the loss of former east bloc markets, are responsible for the immense difficulties now faced by farmers in Czechoslovakia.

Dlouhy said the single coordinated policy will cover customs duties, import licenses and tariffs, and farm subsidies.

There will also be a single regulatory federal fund which will aim at maintaining balance on the food market.

The fund, approved by the Czechoslovak parliament in September, is used for intervention purchases by the

state of agricultural products from purchase, distribution and storage companies at guaranteed contractual prices, and their sale on the domestic market and abroad.

Czechoslovakia's efforts to gain access to West European products for its farm products met with opposition from France and other EC members. Talks on the issue will continue.

The problem of food surpluses in Czechoslovakia is to be partially resolved by EC-subsidized exports to the Soviet Union.

Czech Government Moves To Control Racism

*LD1210152891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas
Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 11 Oct 91*

[Text] The Czech Government has asked the interior minister to secure the uncompromising proceedings of the police against all displays of racism and to ensure that the police intervene forcibly and with all lawful means against organized groups committing violent acts. It also asked the chairman of the Security Coordination Council of the Czech Republic's Government to make the Council assess the situation as quickly as possible, as well as assess the possibility of immediate and long-term measures including possible changes in our law. The Czech Government firmly condemned the events that took place in Teplice and in Usti nad Labem last weekend, as well as similar events in the recent past. On the other hand, it cannot be ignored that the share of Romanies involved in crimes highly exceeds their proportion in the entire population.

Republic Unemployment Figures for September Viewed

AU1510165391

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY and Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 11 October publish items on the state of unemployment in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic at the end of September 1991.

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 11 October on page 2 carries a 300-word "ci"-signed report on a news conference with Milan Horalek, Czech minister of labor and social affairs, held in Prague on 10 October. According to the report, "202,225 job seekers were registered in the Czech Republic on 30 September 1991, of whom 131,439 collected unemployment benefits. The rate of unemployment reached 3.77 percent." Horalek estimated that about 35 percent (70,000) of the registered unemployed "are not seriously interested in finding a job." Horalek also said that 224 companies in the Czech Republic with a total of 154,300 employees are on "short-time work." These companies receive financial support from the government.

Minister Milan Horalek's news conference is also the subject of a 500-word Vaclav Pergl report in Prague

RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 October on page 2. According to Pergl, Horalek estimates that, thanks to his ministry's "active employment policy," the number of unemployed in the Czech Republic in 1991 will fall 150,000 short of the expected level. This estimate is founded on the favorable trend—the monthly growth rate has dropped from 50 percent in January to only 10 percent in September.

Horalek is also quoted as having estimated "that about 100,000 people in the Czech Republic became millionaires in the first half of this year."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 11 October on page 6 carries a 600-word Zuzana Alnerova report entitled "On Unemployment, This Time Optimistically." The report states that there were "244,017 job seekers in Slovakia on 30 September," which translates into an unemployment rate of 9.5 percent. However, the number of unemployed in Slovakia increased by only 21,218 in September, which was the lowest increase in the last three months. This is "surprising," according to Alnerova, because "it was expected that the ranks of unemployed would be joined by school graduates who had afforded themselves the luxury of an extended last vacation."

Conscientious Objectors Number 38,000 Since Mar 90

AU1210182091 Prague CSTK in English 1703 GMT
9 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 9 (CSTK)— About 6,000 Czechoslovak Army conscripts failed to report for duty in the autumn call-up, held October 1 to 4, Czechoslovak Federal Defense Ministry officials said today.

They said 30,000 out of 36,000 Army conscripts and all 4,000 called up for service in the Interior Ministry had reported.

Most of those who failed to report, they said, applied for conscientious-objector status, permitted under legislation on alternative civilian service passed in March 1990.

The officials noted that conscripts from Slovakia assigned to duty in the Czech Republic—17 percent of the total number from Slovakia—will serve in units scheduled to be relocated to Slovakia in 1992.

A total of 38,000 men have refused to serve in the Armed Forces since the law on alternative service came into effect. Of these, 30,000 were already in active service.

Nemec: Former Minister Vales Was StB Agent

AU1310151891 Prague CESKE A
MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY
in Czech 5 Oct 91 p 2

[CSTK report: "No Heed Being Paid to the Third Group: The President's Statement on the Vales Affair Was Unfortunate"]

[Text] Plzen— The Czech Republic Ministry of State Control does not distinguish between "clean" and "dirty" money. This was stated by Minister [of Control] I. Nemec at a Civic Democratic Party [ODS] rally on Plzen the night of 3 October. As he explained, there are three types of entrepreneurs. Small entrepreneurs (registered with local authorities), medium entrepreneurs (entered in the company register), and those who do not figure anywhere. The revenue authorities control only the first two groups, paying no heed to the third. A month ago the Ministry of Control launched an investigation of these tax evasions.

By the end of the year, it plans to open its regional workplaces. I. Nemec indicated that they will focus on controlling the process of large-scale privatization, with particular emphasis on projects that provide for the direct sale of enterprises [without offers being invited or auctions being held]. Asked whether the reason for the resignation of [Federal Deputy Prime Minister] V. Vales was the positive result of screening [for collaboration with the former secret police], I. Nemec replied in the affirmative. At the same time he said that V. Havel's statement in Vales' defense was unfortunate; the president was apparently ill-informed.

Ruml Says KGB Refuses To Identify Agents

AU1110160291 Prague CESKE A
MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY
in Czech 7 Oct 91 p 3

[CTK report: "T. Sokol Made a Mistake"]

[Text] "Czech Minister of Interior T. Sokol made a fundamental mistake, one for which he is now paying dearly, when on taking up his office at the Czech Ministry of Interior, he did not take with him any new people, anyone he could absolutely trust." This was stated by Federal Deputy Minister of Interior J. Ruml at a news conference yesterday. He added that T. Sokol is surrounded by the old staff, which naturally is not interested in any fundamental changes in the department. J. Ruml also stressed that the Federal Ministry of Interior currently has no access to the agents' network of the Soviet State Security Committee (KGB). He visited Moscow about 10 days ago, where he had talks with representatives of the Russian KGB. He did not, however, receive the information on KGB [activities] on our territory that he asked for. "We are unable to find KGB agents," he noted. Asked about the recent statement by the KGB's spokesman in Moscow that the center of international terrorism and terrorist training camps were located near Prague, he replied that he has no information that would suggest that Prague served as a specific training center. He admitted, however, that terrorists had been trained in training centers near Brno and Karlovy Vary and that important terrorists such as Carlos, Abi Abu Del Hai [spelling as published], or terrorists from the West German Red Army Faction used to stay in Prague.

Jeszzenszky Addresses National Assembly

LD1510170191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 0918 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Speech by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszzenszky at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Esteemed National Assembly: I have to evaluate the results and problems of Hungarian foreign policy at an extremely interesting and difficult time, at an historic time, when the whole world's political constellation seems to have been reorganized, when security and economic systems, when the conditions of political balance that had been motionless and were believed unmovable have ceased to exist, and the formation of a new world political structure has begun. [passage omitted]

At such historic moments, the responsibility of certain governments, parliaments, and political leaderships becomes especially great. It is not easy to lead a country on a forced path, but it is a lot more difficult to set a direction, to take on the responsibility of choosing the new direction, to set the sharpness of the bend. At this historical juncture, many are seeking the new direction, and point men are not always the best politicians.

In the present situation, even a small state like ours is given the chance to have a say in directing events to a larger extent than our territorial size and economic weight would warrant, as we possess the adequate moral and political capital, which in our case derives partly from the 1956 revolution and partly from the role we have played in the European changes. We have to take on this task.

Although it would be tempting to call it a mission, we have a duty to play a role in transforming Europe and the world. Central Europe, the countries and peoples of this region, have their own message to Europe and the world. These countries, these peoples, have their own specific historical experience and knowledge that have to be inserted in the institutional system of international decisionmaking mechanisms. [passage omitted]

We are trying to create a peaceful, patient, and prosperous society on the ruins of the communist dictatorship that also repressed people emotionally. Most of our neighbors are doing the same. These experiences and lessons can make up the message which we can send to the international forums and organizations working to transform world politics. The answer of Europe and the world is just now being formed, but its elements seem to be outlined. They are encouraging and promising for us, but they are not without dangers. The misfortunes of the century that have struck us appear to be easing, but our own misjudgements continue to restrict us. [passage omitted]

Esteemed House. Today the foreign policy of the Hungarian Government is determined by the internal social, political, and economic development that is evolving in

the wake of the system transformation. Foreign policy is well-founded and effective if it promotes the achievement of internal aims, takes into consideration the real possibilities and scope of the country, makes use of the changing international possibilities, and helps the processes which are in accordance with our principles and interests. Among the main foreign policy aims of the government in the past 16 months, additional importance has been attached to the complete restoration of the sovereignty of the country and, in accordance with this, the consequent representation of national interests.

It was an important precondition to wind up all institutional and formal elements of the dependency left over from the previous period. This has been carried out fully. At the same time, a fundamental aim was and remains to guarantee and strengthen the country's security. In the wake of the system transformation, it has become possible for our country to create a system of foreign relations that is balanced, corresponds to real interests, and contains new substance. In practice, this requires intensive cooperation with Western democracies.

On the other hand, we have stated, from the beginning, our endeavor to base our relations with our neighbors on new foundations. The aim of Hungarian foreign policy is to contribute to the assertion of European norms, also in our immediate region, to help stability, the strengthening of the democratic institutional system, continuous dialogue and, with this, real reconciliation. It has been an important aim of Hungarian foreign policy to promote the wide-ranging enforcement of human rights. In this, we laid special emphasis on outlining the rights of ethnic minorities. This endeavor is justified by our natural bond to Hungarians living beyond our borders. However, this issue reaches far beyond specific Hungarian views. The memorable thesis by Oszkar Jaszi [sociologist and minister in charge of nationality affairs in the Karolyi government in 1918-1919, who advocated a democratic federalist Central European solution] entitled "The Situation of Ethnic Minorities is the Touchstone of Democracy" is valid in the whole region even today. [passage omitted]

Our main endeavor has been to convince the leaders of European and other democratic countries, both by our statements and by our actions, that the Hungarian political leadership will prove to be a good partner, that the Hungarian government is a committed adherent to the democratic development of Europe and the world, a pluralist parliamentary order, constitutional statehood, and market economy. Leaders of the democratic countries have been good partners to us from the first day of our government. They have helped us rebuild our foreign policy and Hungary's adaptation to the community of democratic countries.

The united Germany is our most important economic partner and, in our general system of relations, it also occupies an outstanding place. A particular element in our relationship is the role that Hungary played in

restoring German unity. The diverse and close cooperation that has evolved with Germany and, within this, with the individual laender, is of great significance to our country. We are ready to develop this further. Our basic treaty, which is in the process of preparation, lays down the high level of our relations and determines the main directions of their further development. These cordial and close contacts are a characteristic of our relationship; but we consider it necessary to assert this in a wider sphere as well, including at lower levels.

Our relations have developed very successfully with Italy, which plays an ever more significant role in our trade and in the development of multilateral regional cooperation. Apart from the regular high-level contacts, an outstanding event of our relations was the signing of the Italian-Hungarian treaty, which could further assist the development of friendly relations between our countries.

Our relations with Austria have, perhaps, never before in our history been so cordial and good. Our already existing relations have been qualitatively altered by the fact that, thanks to the system change in Hungary, two countries with identical social systems are practising cooperation. Since we fully agree on numerous issues, as a result of the similarity in our situation and historical experiences, our cooperation is also close in multilateral forums.

We are holding frequent high-level contacts with France. Our relations are developing well. Recently, we signed an entente agreement. [passage omitted]

We highly appreciate the dialogue that has evolved with the United Kingdom, and the fact that our bilateral relations are developing smoothly and continuously. We consider it important that British policy should take an active and effective part in the solution of our region's problems. [passage omitted]

The small and medium states of Europe are our particular partners. They have proved to be of assistance and, in a certain sense, our allies in international forums. We can count on them when serious issues come up for discussion such as, for example, the minorities issue, or when we need important experiences such as the practical process of fitting into the European Community.

The United States plays a determinant role in world politics and in world economic processes. Democratic Hungary devotes special attention to Hungarian-U.S. relations, and we can note with satisfaction that the United States is also ready for the development of these relations. In the past months, there have been numerous high-level contacts between the leaders of the two countries. The U.S. Government and Congress have taken several measures that unequivocally show that the United States now treats democratic Hungary as a real cooperation partner and takes note of its interests and opinions. The attention and the openness shown by the U.S. Government, and the substantial entrepreneurial elements there, is a characteristic of the shaping of our economic relations. Nothing proves this better than the fact that, in the past year, half of our foreign investments came from the United States.

Cooperation and high-level contacts are also a characteristic of our relations with Canada. We are delighted with the political experiences that a country with a promising future has gained—and is offering—in its coexistence with and support for the various ethnic groups and cultures.

The Hungarian Government has, within a short time, had to resolve numerous complex and large-scale tasks in Hungarian-Soviet relations. It was essential that we pay continuous attention to the changes in the Soviet Union, the rapid transformation of the country's political system and internal structure. The full withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the territory of Hungary is an event of historic scale. It has opened a new chapter in Hungarian-Soviet relations. It is a fact that, despite the government's efforts, our trade has declined, but the main reason for that is the economic difficulties of the Soviet Union. After a long period of preparation, the Hungarian-Soviet basic agreement, based on principles of total equality, is ready for ratification and is a starting point for the all-round development of our future relations. This continues to be an important aim of the Hungarian Government.

As soon as it became possible, we did our best to shape and increase our cooperation with the Soviet republics promptly and with the necessary intensity. We acknowledged their declarations of sovereignty and, while mindful of the realities, we are preparing to establish diplomatic relations with them. Our aim is that a genuine, wide-ranging cooperation be established with Russia, and we are expecting that the high-level talks we have already held, as well as those at the preparation stage, will positively influence our economic relations, too. [passage omitted]

We have signed an agreement consisting of several points, among which the statement on national minorities stands preminent. This is the first document of this kind our country has signed with another state.

The government, in accord with the wishes of public opinion and of the other parties, and in line with its own earlier steps, was one of the first to announce that it was ready to restore diplomatic relations with the Baltic states. We took the initial steps to promote the Baltics' full joining in the European processes as soon as possible. We want an effective, wide-ranging cooperation to evolve within a short time between Hungary and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

We have renewed all the essential elements of Hungarian-Polish relations, considering the historic traditions and the similarity of our situations and aspirations and, as a result of that, we have found several new opportunities for cooperation. This was proved by the recent visit by the Hungarian Prime Minister to Poland and the newly-signed Hungarian-Polish agreement, and we adopted a stance on the Yugoslav crisis in a joint statement with our Polish partners.

Similar situations, ideas, and interests characterize Hungarian-Czech and Slovak relations, too. This has created

a good basis for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation, for joint action at international forums, and also for the settling through dialogue of differences of views inherited from the past and rooted in the past.

We regard the question of relations between the two republics as a matter for the nations concerned.

I have to state that our relations with our important neighbor, Romania, have not developed in accordance with our intentions, although this was not because of Hungary. We continue to be ready for a substantive dialogue; we urge real progress. Examples of this are the agreements reached in the military field to strengthen confidence. Taking into consideration the well-known special features of Hungarian-Romanian relations, we think campaigns to bend public opinion and press polemics should be avoided. We, on our side, act in accordance with this.

Our nation has long, historical relations with all the nations of the Balkan peninsula. We observe with sympathy and solidarity the attempts at democratization taking place in the region. Yugoslavia would merit special detailed and long analysis, but there is no opportunity for it here and now. We look with concern and, indeed, with alarm at what is taking place beyond our southern borders, and we are doing everything possible, together with the democratic countries, to promote the earliest peaceful settlement of that serious crisis. [passage omitted]

Hungary is conducting a measured, circumspect policy and does not lose sight of the interests of Hungarians in Yugoslavia either. We wish to distance ourselves from the conflict while, at the same time, we have taken and will continue to take all the necessary measures to protect the security of the territory and the population of Hungary. [passage omitted]

Our cooperation with Japan, which is one of our most important economic partners, has developed very favorably. Our political relations have been at correspondingly very high levels. It is in the long-term strategic interest of our country to carefully nurture and broaden these relations. [passage omitted] Regrettably, our trade relations with the People's Republic of China have declined. We hope that under new market conditions our economic links will soon be restored, at least to the previous level.

Our contacts with Israel are intensive and frequent, while at the same time our interstate relations have developed in a balanced and encouraging manner with the majority of the Arab states. Our attitude and actions during the Gulf crisis were met with appreciation among the countries of the region and elsewhere. [passage omitted]

Esteemed House, both in world politics and in Hungarian politics decisive and fundamental changes have taken place within multilateral relations. Parallel with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, in which Hungary had an initial role, our relations have been

strengthened with multilateral and integrating organizations and the rebuilding of the regional and subregional cooperation that has been established over the centuries. It is almost a year now since Hungary became a full member of the Council of Europe. Being granted this membership meant that the democratic countries of Europe formally admitted us among them, thereby making it clear that they hold in regard the Hungarian system of government, a parliamentary democracy in which human rights are ensured and that is equal to the other democracies of Europe. In November last year, we signed the Paris Declaration. Since that moment, the Constitution of Europe has applied to us as well. This compels all participating countries to honor democracy, the law, human rights and the rights of minorities, self-determination, and the guaranteeing of personal economic freedom. We conducted productive discussions with the EC, and the treaty of association will be signed this very year. We can establish with this, which is a most significant integrating organization, relations that, if we take the steps required, within a few years will take us to full membership, to full economic and political integration into Europe. In several respects, we already coordinate our policies with the countries of the EC, and we continue to aim at cooperating with them, in line with their recognition of us as a country with similar attitudes. We hope that before long our political coordination with the Community will take institutional form as well. After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the opportunity opened for us to direct our foreign and security policy as a sovereign state, to set out freely our security interests and aims. Together with the countries of Europe and North America, we want to ensure that the CSCE, the institutions and processes established by the Helsinki accord, provide most effectively for the security and economic well-being and human rights of the countries participating in that process.

At the same time, we also know that the complicated system of the CSCE and the interests of the states cooperating within its framework can only be coordinated in a system that endeavors for consensus and that consumes much energy. The advantage of the mechanism derives from the fact that everybody considers its proposals compulsory, since they have accepted them, and its disadvantage derives from the fact that there is only the possibility of a decision being made if the smallest common denominator is found. We continue to consider the values and mechanism system represented by the CSCE as an important tool for the security of the Euro-Atlantic region, and we support its increased effectiveness.

In the past year, the Hungarian Government has made significant efforts to establish closer relations with NATO, which is the main support for the security of the Euro-Atlantic region. It is desirable that our relations be raised to an institutional level within the foreseeable future. We shall speak in this spirit at the military conference of the North Atlantic General Assembly and at NATO headquarters in Brussels. We have taken up relations with the Western European Union, and we are

ready to take part in its [word indistinct] work as partners. Hungary's politicians and diplomats have worked on various UN forums and institutions to make obvious to the world that a system transformation has taken place in Hungary and that the country wishes to have an influence on world processes by cooperating with the community of democratic countries. As we have a good chance to become a non-permanent member of the Security Council shortly, we shall be able to cooperate in resolving urgent world problems on a greater scale than before.

During the past year, in the wake of the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA, the possibility has opened up yet again for building regional and subregional relations in Central and Eastern Europe. The Pentagonale, having now become the Hexagonale, which has helped cooperation among those originally outside the block and the opposing countries, has provided a promising effort for practical cooperation among the countries of the region, between the Adriatic Sea and the Baltics. [passage omitted]

We regard our regional cooperation with Czechoslovakia and Poland as extremely important. Building on similar or identical historical experiences of several centuries and common cultural traditions, these three countries can build close cooperation in their foreign policies, security policies, and economic policies, which could become an example for stabilization efforts in the period after the end of a polarized Europe. [passage omitted] We wish to develop this cooperation further, to make it more effective and deeper, and we are ready to involve certain regions of our neighboring countries in our work within the framework of certain programs. [Applause]

With the failure of the political dictatorships based on a one-party system, democratic political systems and political systems that voice the principles of democracy have formed in the region. As part of this process, the human rights principles and norms that became known to the world public as part of the Helsinki process have become generally accepted. The supplementation of these principles and norms is in progress, such as by recording and defining the rights of minorities as precisely as possible and by identifying exactly the duties of states. We know that this is a slow and difficult process, but the political circles of Western Europe and Northern America were not prepared sufficiently for the changes and the consequences of the changes that happened in Central and Eastern Europe. The rights of nations to self-determination, the individual and collective rights of ethnic and other minorities, and the guarantee of social security are questions that need solutions, in terms of human rights and economic and security policy answers. In short, the solution to economic and ethnic questions is a condition for maintaining stability. That is, it is an all-European security interest.

I have to speak separately to the migration problems of our region. Both our Western partners and our Central and Eastern European neighbors have to work with us so

that an Eastern wave of migration, which has so often appeared as a nightmare, does not start. We have to make joint efforts with the developed democracies so that the population of Central and Eastern Europe can live a relative secure existence. Neither civil war, nor hardship, should make them leave their home, and they should reach a level within the foreseeable future that is worthy of man on the threshold of the 21st century both in economic and social respect. The Eastern part of Europe cannot solve these problems on its own. The effective and persistent cooperation and help of the leading economic powers of the world is needed.

The security and military structures of the Euro-Atlantic region have already been transformed. With the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact and with the achieved arms reduction agreements, the security of our region has strengthened. We consider the agreement on the reduction of European conventional armed forces to be very important, and we urge for the ratification and full implementation of this agreement with all our partners. I note with pleasure that the Hungarian National Assembly has already ratified this agreement. We find it desirable that the European states gaining their independence and sovereignty also look on this agreement as binding.

We also find important the readiness of the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce significantly their tactical nuclear weapons, and thereby to reduce further the possibility of a global nuclear conflict. The principle of both our defense and foreign policies is that arms reduction has to reach the level in the world and in Europe that is termed sufficiency of defense potential. [passage omitted]

As examples, I would like to mention the acceleration of the process of our integration into Western Europe and links with certain Arab countries and South Africa.

We can take it as an achievement of our foreign policy that the unforeseen shocks in our region did not reduce the willingness to provide assistance toward our economic transformation and revival.

Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Esteemed House, one of the particular and significant consequences of the change of the political system that took place was that the Hungarian National Assembly, the esteemed members, during the past 16 months have conducted very important foreign policy activities. The work that members of the esteemed House carried out at various international forums during their negotiations and consultations served the interests of the country and the nation.

In working toward membership in the Council of Europe, our representatives took part as full members in the work of the Assembly of the Council of Europe, as invited members at the North Atlantic Assembly, and in the work of a number of other interparliamentary organizations. All these had been operating for decades without a Hungarian presence.

It demonstrates clear international recognition of our National Assembly, our Assembly members, and our foreign policy in general, that in July 1992 the summer session of the Council of Europe will be held in Budapest, and in the same month the founding session of the CSCE parliament will also be held here. I think that correct, fair working relations have been established between the Government, the Foreign Ministry, and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Assembly. If we regard the good past year as a process of establishing relations, we can say that slowly the framework of the areas and fields where the Government and Foreign Ministry apparatus and legislative committees can effectively work together in the interest of a successful Hungarian foreign policy are emerging. The Government and the Foreign Minister, in line with previous practice, are ready not only to continue to cooperate with the National Assembly and its committees in the interests of Hungarian foreign policy, but also, on certain questions of great significance, to request their involvement in decisionmaking. [passage omitted]

We welcome and regard as successful the international activities of the political parties that are establishing, or are about to establish, links with similar political parties. It is in the clear interest of Hungary and Hungarians that democratic Hungarian political parties and organizations should integrate into the international political system, which is based, in addition to the cooperation between governments and parliaments, on the cooperation of the parties as well. [passage omitted]

The foreign policy activities of the Government have been supplemented on a continuous basis by a number of official visits by the President of the Republic. [passage omitted] Esteemed House, what we did during the past year and a half, we did with the intention of serving the interests of our country and nation. As it can be assessed from what has been heard, the majority of our efforts were successful, but we did have some failures as well. In summing up, however, perhaps I am not exaggerating if I declare that, in foreign policy, we carried out a change of direction. We did not damage the international reputation of Hungary and Hungarians, and we served their interests successfully. For all this, we needed the support of the democratically elected Hungarian National Assembly, the assistance of the democratic parties, and the moral and spiritual strength of the Hungarian nation. We relied on the former and drew strength from the latter. I wish to thank all my compatriots living inside and outside the country who helped us, and I hope they will continue to help and support our foreign policy aims in the years to come, with whatever means they have at their disposal. It is a great strength for us that Hungarians are living in so many places in the world, with their useful knowledge, economic strength, their links that they are ready to put to the service of the advancement of the country and the nation. I thank my compatriots for their support for our work, and I ask them to continue to do so. The creation of foreign policy based on national consensus begins at the negotiating tables but continues

in everyday work, and it is at critical and difficult moments when it is demonstrated who can place the interests of the nations and the country above everything else. [passage omitted]

Parties Address Assembly on Foreign Policy

*LD1610050991 Budapest MTI in English 1826 GMT
15 Oct 91*

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky reported on the coalition government's foreign policy to the session of the Hungarian National Assembly on Tuesday. Following the report, speakers of the parliamentary parties set forth their views about the theme.

Gyorgy Csoti (Hungarian Democratic Forum) said Hungary should carry out a foreign policy based on consensus, which expresses the interests of the 15 million Hungarians but which does not offend other nations. The MP [member of parliament] said: "Hungary shall never initiate, nor tolerate, the forcible changing of borders." A lasting solution can be brought about by crossable borders in the wake of European integration. Until then, Hungary shall encourage that the rights of minorities be guaranteed, and it will consider this the test of its relation towards the neighbouring countries.

Gaspar Miklos Tamas (Alliance of Free Democrats) said the most beneficial conduct for Hungary in the region that threatens to explode is to stay out of the downward spiral that progresses towards violence, decline, civil war and racism.

Sandor Olah (Independent Smallholders' Party) stressed that restoring the country's sovereignty is the greatest result of the government's activity over the past 18 months. The other strategic result is that Hungary has taken major steps towards European integration.

Gyula Horn (Hungarian Socialist Party) stressed the world respects only what Hungary achieves through its own strength, the central-eastern European region is left to itself. The Yugoslav crisis has made it clear that other issues engage the attention of the world powers. Horn termed as "foolishness" the view, whereby Germany strives for dominance in the region. Germany has provided effective assistance to Hungary so far, Horn said. This is particularly valuable as it is the only Western country that has experience in dismantling the socialist system.

Horn also discussed the Trianon peace treaty following the First World War, and the Paris peace treaty following the Second World War. These were unjust, Horn said. However, the Hungarians should acknowledge the fact that the treaties were dictated by the victorious powers, thus Hungary would not find partners for the revision of these. On the other hand, Hungary can justly request the "successor states" to implement the obligation they accepted in protecting the minorities living in their areas.

Istvan Hegedus (Federation of Young Democrats) cautioned against overly high expectations towards the EC, and an external economic policy based on agriculture. He asked the government to compile a "timetable" for membership in the EC.

Sandor Karcsey (Christian Democratic People's Party) stressed the importance of the flow of information, of maintaining contacts, and of consensus in shaping foreign policy. Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee is the main forum for this, he said.

Zoltan Kiraly, addressing the session on behalf of the independent MPs, cautioned against spectacular, unilateral steps, and proposed to foster good relations with all great powers.

Democratic Alliance Chairman Discusses Plans

AU1510114891 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 10 Oct 91 p 13

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, cochairman of the Hungarian National Democratic Alliance, by Gabor Rejto; place and date not given: "I Was the Fellow for Ambitious Plans"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

[Rejto] You are one of the leaders of the National Democratic Alliance [NDSZ]. How does the NDSZ differ from other parties on our political scene?

[Pozsgay] There is clearly a void in the center of the National Assembly. Ideological disputes have led to a tasteless polarization and to deliberate cooperation between parties to isolate the Hungarian Socialist Party. The NDSZ could give the "nation" concept a meaning that would not be exclusive, a meaning that would not allow people to override this most sensitive and unavoidable concept, or to use it as a basis for false confrontation. Indeed, that is what is happening at the moment. We also think that the NDSZ would be suitable as a compromise institution between the work force and capital. At the moment, the opposition cannot create the political background for this, and the government would find it awkward to be a suitable partner for interest representation groups.

[Rejto] What is your opinion on the report by Imre Konya (Hungarian Democratic Forum faction leader), which specifically mentions you?

[Pozsgay] I see a misunderstanding of the concept of power in that report. It practically insinuates that, here in Eastern Europe, the nature of power has remained unchanged and that power has only undergone a metamorphosis. If an enemy image is needed to stimulate a pulling power in society, then that reminds me of Baron Munchausen, who tried to lift himself out of a swamp by pulling his own hair. As far as the personal remarks about me are concerned, I

would not like to judge them because I might not use the right attributes and people might suspect some kind of personal offense.

[Rejto] Every day you meet with politicians who, according to you, have abused your naivete.

[Pozsgay] I can forget about that. I try to behave like a real civilian and democrat. It is true that experience has made me a little more cautious, and I take a closer look at those who search through my things. I would like to add that it is not just me but also the people who are disappointed: I cooperated with the government, and I made a very skeptical legislature pass every letter that was laid down at our coordination talks, turning them into laws, but my partners who benefited from the agreements have reneged on a lot of things. This was the first real sign of a loss of faith, and tempers will not calm down until historical justice has been established in this area. Anyone who sees this as revenge is a stupid blockhead. This is a matter of political struggle.

[Rejto] In 1987, at Lakitelek, you said that the aim was to create a democratic and socialist Hungary. What is the aim in the fall of 1991?

[Pozsgay] The creation of a developed constitutional Hungarian democracy, with a new constitution and a developed extraparlimentary system of institutions.

KDNP Leader Explains Approach to Coalition

AU1510102891 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG
in Hungarian 9 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

["H.P."-signed interview with Welfare Minister Laszlo Surjan, chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party; place and date not given: "Negotiations To Start on Friday—Surjan Has Confidence in the Coalition"]

[Text] A series of negotiations on the future of the coalition will start on Friday, 11 October, with the participation of the three parties in the government. We asked Laszlo Surjan about the position of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP].

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] You are the only party that has not yet elected its representatives to the talks.

[Surjan] Last week, our Presidium decided not to have a permanent group at the coming negotiations. We would like to create a forum of continuous cooperation. In such a forum, it is desirable to participate with a negotiating delegation whose members can keep changing. There are two permanent members in our delegation: Tibor Fuzessy, head of the body of deputies, and I, the chairman of the party. The faction will select one more person in the

group, and the remaining two places will be taken up by alternating people from among the five Presidium members. We are also considering the possibility of occasionally involving experts in these talks. The Presidium will decide on Wednesday who should represent our party on the first day of talks.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In other words, you are for continuous talks. However, Gyula Pasztor, head of the Smallholders Party faction in the National Assembly, told us that he would like the talks to conclude by the time the next session begins.

[Surjan] In my opinion, we should not discuss some kind of current and one-time issue. Hungary has some basic issues that must be solved by the government in a legal sense, but the coalition parties themselves must play a big role in preparing these solutions. A two-way movement is needed: the revealing of certain facts by the government, and proposals made by the parties on how to solve a given problem. Great issues are decided upon these days, and, for this, the coalition parties should hold continuous negotiations.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] To what extent do you consider it important to discuss personnel issues at the coming negotiations?

[Surjan] In our opinion, the most important thing is to develop a system of common political activity in the coalition. We started the coalition in the spring of last year with some enthusiasm and confidence, in a community based on ideology. All this proved to be good cement, but it was not enough for operational purposes. The government cannot move in a vacuum. The problem is that the government makes decisions by taking professional and political aspects into consideration, and then it must also explain the reasons behind a given decision to its own team. Sometimes this is very simple, but sometimes it is rather complicated. An opposite direction would be the correct one.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Has the requirement for such preparation of a government decision come up now for the first time?

[Surjan] No. The demand to meet regularly was formulated long ago, and we have already held talks several times. The government is working on some kind of treadmill and does not have enough time to carry out a thorough analysis. If we do not reorganize ourselves and do not take some drastic steps in this area, we will end up like a mass of people who want to go through a narrow gate but are stepping on each other and, therefore, cannot advance with adequate speed. We must jointly formulate our common political will.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Is the KDNP fulfilling its role within the government, a role it deserves on the basis of the votes it received during the elections? Are you trying to obtain new positions?

[Surjan] We could imagine more leaders from our party. However, taking Hungary's basic interests into consideration, I think we must now think in different dimensions. Fulfilling state tasks is a task rather than a prize. Officially, there are no such ideas on the agenda now. In my view, the guarantee for Hungary's progress lies in the need for all of our bills—on property policy, privatization, the banking system, social policy, and so forth—to reflect clear political intentions rather than in the redistribution of power.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In your opinion, how firm is our coalition? Smallholders' Party Chairman Jozsef Torgyan compared the faction to a marriage that can also be dissolved.

[Surjan] The KDNP regards marriage as indissoluble, but not the coalition.... A coalition will dissolve the moment one of its parties thinks it can assert its ideas more effectively outside the government. I do not see any chance of this in any of the three coalition parties. Of course, each of them will make its own decisions. The form of minority government is slightly alien to us. However, we should not forget that the social democrats in Sweden used this form of government successfully, and it seems that the Christian Democrats will also have a minority government there. The advantage of the minority government is that, to a certain extent, it requires greater consideration, there are more coordinating talks, and there is less useless bickering. However, taking everything into consideration, I do not desire the dissolution of the coalition, and I will not come up with such a proposal at the talks.

Soviet Communists Attend MSZMP Congress

AU1610124191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 14 Oct 91 p 2

["M.G."-signed interview with Sergey Skvortsovo, spokesman of a Soviet communist delegation visiting Hungary; place and date not given: "Soviet Communists in Our Country"]

[Text] You might say it is a small sensation: Soviet communists have been on a visit to our country. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] 12 October congress in Salgotarjan was attended by a three-member delegation that represented the committees that have been entrusted with the restructuring of the [Soviet] communist party. As we know, there is a decree in the Soviet Union that prohibits the CPSU's activities. We asked Sergey Skvortsovo about his movement:

[Skvortsovo] I represent the committee called "For the Unity of Communists." Several organizing committees created this body. Our membership? The organizing committees tend to be initiating bodies, so we cannot speak of memberships.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What are your guidelines?

[Skvortsovo] The Committee for the Unity of Communists does not support any ideological stance. We wish to defend the interests of the people, and we do not want debates on theoretical issues—like what kind of socialism did we have, and was it really socialism?

[NEPSZABADSAG] So is the CPSU being reformed?

[Skvortsovo] This promises to be a very difficult task because the authorities are interfering with our activities. PRAVDA did not publish our call for a reorganization of the party; only GLASNOST published our paper. We have already received dozens of telephone calls from initiating committees all over the country.

Walesa Discusses Political Outlook, Elections

AU1510110391 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 11 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Piotr Adamowicz and Piotr Skwiecinski in Warsaw; date not given: "The President Must Be Above All Parties"]

[Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Mr. President, have you accepted the fact that you are no longer a loudly applauded hero of the people, but a politician instead, dressed in a suit and tie?

[Walesa] I can no longer be a hero, although I would like to be one.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Relatively recently, during the election code crisis, you appeared outside St. Brygida's Church in quite a different role.

[Walesa] I was saying good-bye to that symbolic place. If people have failed to understand that, too bad. One cannot resolve any problems at a rally, but one can gain applause and popularity. Political life is now becoming normal. Henceforth, decisions will be reached by democratic means, within the structures of the state. Before, rallies were staged to overthrow communism, but today they no longer suit me or Poland.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You once said that you derived strength from your meetings with the people. We still remember the slogan, "Your strength is my strength, your wisdom my wisdom." Are meetings with work forces inside enterprises no longer necessary?

[Walesa] Times have changed. Society's strength must now take the form of various groups and organizations. There should be a democratic contest of forces. My task is merely to make adjustments when necessary. Others must gain power after the elections and be by my side.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] In an interview for LE MONDE, you said the concept of acceleration was finished. Does that mean you were wrong?

[Walesa] No, I was right. However, acceleration was meant to be more comprehensive. The elections were supposed to take place no later than May, but they did not, and what is more, the government was denied the power to issue decrees. I could have raved and shouted as much as I wanted to, but I could not have accelerated anything without striking at democracy and dissolving Parliament. There were no executive instruments, and new regulations could not keep up with the changes. The legislation was still communist. That law was meant to serve the authorities of the Polish People's Republic, not society. It was full of holes, which is why so many scandals occurred.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Many people thought acceleration was a mere election slogan that you abandoned as soon as you had entered office.

[Walesa] Privatization was supposed to be one part of acceleration, but the problem of privatization was not resolved at all. If the government had been allowed to make decrees, one could have announced a three-month period for filing claims for confiscated assets, after which any unclaimed assets could have been redistributed or sold. But nothing like that was done.

Cooperation with Parliament was supposed to be another part of acceleration. The Parliament was formed as a result of a political deal, which was valid the day it convened for the first time, but lost its validity when the Communist Party was dissolved in January 1990. I found it impossible to cooperate with the Sejm after that. Any contact with it might have been construed as an acceptance of the old system, and there would have been negative feelings against me. The Parliament was divided in two. The majority, 65 percent, consisted of representatives of the outgoing authorities, and the remainder, 35 percent, consisted of representatives of the Solidarity community. Therefore I would have had to have dealings with representatives of the old authorities, and the Solidarity people would not have liked that. Such a situation made my work impossible. That is why I withdrew and decided to bring about an acceleration by exerting pressure on the government. I tried to compel ministers to say what should be done in a given sphere to improve things, or to tell society that it is they, the ministers, who can implement the president's election program, and not the president. I tried to tell them to explain to society the reason for difficulties, to say what needs to be done, and why things were not working out.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Should there not be a genuine political base to support the president's actions?

[Walesa] I am now limiting my activity as much as possible and quietly waiting, because I do not want to interfere with the formation of parties. I cannot be a strong Walesa, because I might destroy pluralism. After all, I could have acted like a president a long time ago. However, if there is chaos and anarchy, I will have to form a presidential alliance, but not a party. I have been saying that for a long time.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] In no developed democracy is there anything like the "president of all Poles" formula of which you are so fond. In the West, the president normally belongs to some party.

[Walesa] We are living neither in the West, nor in a developed democracy. We are only just building democracy. I could have built myself a political backdrop in the shape of a party, but a Walesa party would have been too strong. A strong Walesa would have enjoyed a monopoly position. It would have been like having one newspaper instead of many. I worked for democracy and pluralism and against my own interests. I am doing something that others are merely talking about, and yet they accuse me of being a dictator. In a difficult period of emerging from communism, there must be a president who is above all

parties, just like there is one captain aboard a ship who is responsible for weathering the storm.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you think the new Parliament will have a coalition of all post-Solidarity forces, just like the Liberal-Democratic Congress has proposed?

[Walesa] That is what people are saying before the elections but, after the elections, it need not be the case. After the elections, there will be a completely different arrangement. I have to treat various groups seriously. A few groups will not wish to cooperate with each other, and I will probably have to help a little.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] How many candidates for prime minister do you have?

[Walesa] I know who they are, but if I reveal their names before the elections someone will again accuse me of violating democracy.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] It is one of your prerogatives to nominate a candidate for prime minister.

[Walesa] Tadeusz Mazowiecki has already said that the leader of the party with the most votes should be prime minister. He wants to return to the position from which he was removed when he lost. What Poland needs is effectiveness.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] It seems that the Democratic Union will win the most votes. Will you accept a prime minister who belongs to that party?

[Walesa] For Poland, I would even accept a Prime Minister Walesa. I have suggested many things to Mr. Mazowiecki. In 1989, I suggested he become a Sejm deputy, but he refused. When we won the elections, he wrote the illustrious article in which he said that we should not choose a prime minister. Last year I suggested to him: "Let us go together. You will be prime minister, and I will be president, for the sake of Poland's acceleration." But he wanted to be president, and not prime minister. Well, he lost. After the elections, I asked him to be prime minister, but he just got up and left. History will prove that my suggestions to him were correct. He is only just discovering that they were. Time will show who was right. If only others would realize the same, we would not lose so much valuable time for Poland.

The Poles must know who is capable of forecasting events and who is not. If someone were to examine which prime minister, Mazowiecki or Bielecki, works and makes decisions fastest, and which one has the best economic knowledge, I have no doubt who would come out on top, and I have to choose the best people for Poland. I did not think Bielecki would be such a good prime minister. I thought he would keep the job for three months. I had many candidates, but none of them had the necessary economic know-how. After all, a prime minister must know something about economics.

I do not mean to say there are no decent activists in the Democratic Union. There are. They just need a chance

to act. The Union will probably win a large number of Sejm seats. I have nothing against people from the Union, apart from the fact that they have been wrong many times in the past.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] There is quite a large faction in the Union that supports Jacek Kuron as candidate for prime minister.

[Walesa] The number of candidates for prime minister probably exceeds the number of governments there will be during my presidential term.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Are you prepared to accept a prime minister candidate nominated by the party that wins the election? Surveys indicate that the Democratic Union will win.

[Walesa] I have to envisage various scenarios. One scenario is that 10 parties will form an election coalition that will win more seats than the Democratic Union. That is also possible, for some of the groups that are not partial to the Union might not want to cooperate with it and vice versa. And what sort of choice would I have in such a situation?

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] After the presidential election, the West was of the opinion that two men, in particular, had to belong to the new government at all costs—Balcerowicz and Skubiszewski. Does that still apply?

[Walesa] The West did not make any such condition but, after Mazowiecki's departure, it was necessary to preserve a continuity in the spheres of finance and foreign policy. If I were to again decide whom to appoint to handle these two spheres, I would choose them one more time, only this time Balcerowicz would have to have a "twin brother," as it were, to implement his ideas, for the original Balcerowicz on his own is not too effective. This twin brother would take the form of a group of knowledgeable people with funds at their disposal. They would scour the ruins of our economy and consider how to include the closed plants and unemployed people in the new reality. They would have at their disposal a fund for restructuring our economy.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] And Skubiszewski? It has been suggested that he become UN secretary general?

[Walesa] If a Pole assumed that post, it would be a great honor to Poland.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Yes, but he would no longer be foreign minister.

[Walesa] Well there are many talented people in Poland.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You have announced changes in your chancellery. What do you mean by depoliticizing it?

[Walesa] I created the chancellery specially for the elections, which I assumed would take place in May. They did not take place in May. I did not get Parliament's permission for that. I designed the chancellery with May

elections in mind. I also saw what those who were offended by me were doing. I knew which people close to me could pacify them. I could not have had better colleagues. I respect my chancellery colleagues very much, but it was only meant to be a provisional body, lasting until the May elections. I knew there would be a strong offensive against me, and there was. The Kaczynski brothers paid for it; they acted like a pair of shock absorbers, to say the least.

The new head of the presidential chancellery must make a choice. If he wants to be head of a party, he cannot be head of the chancellery. The chancellery must work for the president, and the president must work for Poland and the nation.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The press has been criticizing the people around you recently, and your former colleague Krzysztof Wyszowski claims you are being manipulated, surrounding yourself by a court of people worthy of a king, and creating an informal structure of authority.... Folding your arms and rolling your eyes cannot be considered a reply, Mr. President.

[Walesa] I cannot help it if they write such things about me! What court? I have given people complete freedom of action, but within the constraints of my concepts. Anyone knows me also knows that Walesa does not manipulate others, not even his wife. Many people would like to be inside the Belvedere but are not.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Do you not miss your family?

[Walesa] As long as I am president, everyone is my family. Politics causes some sacrifices, unfortunately, and there is nothing I can do about that. I do not want my family to be in Warsaw because I do not intend to tie myself either to the presidency or to Warsaw. I want to do the best possible job for Poland, that is all.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Your first anniversary as president is approaching. What plans do you have for the next four years?

[Walesa] If the things I planned during my presidential campaign fail, I will only have one year left in which to fulfill my election promises. Let other people formulate other programs. There are people who love power. I hate it, but I had to adopt it. But the situation could change later. The election program might turn out to be impossible to implement. If Parliament and the government succeed in jointly working out and implementing a different program and then place obstacles in my path, I will give up the job. I have been like a car fender protecting the Polish reforms. This fender is now badly dented, for it has attempted to implement the election program and come into conflict with the government, the Sejm, and the Senate, and not just once, but many times. What more can I do?

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] When you were still Solidarity chairman you also threatened people that you would leave.

[Walesa] Gentlemen, remember how many times I have forecast events. I have always said we must proceed together on basic issues. When everyone listened to me, we had nothing but success, though it did not always come immediately. If today everyone were to realize that I was right, we would go much further along the path of Polish reforms. But no, some people are still stubborn. Once again they are playing delaying tactics.

If we had not elected a president in December, I do not think we could have done it later. Various things might have happened if the previous president were still in office, e.g. during the Moscow putsch, especially when one considers society's dissatisfaction and the possibility of revived activity by the postcommunist left. In any case, these things were discussed at the Krakow tripartite summit.

There must be closer cooperation between the foreign, interior, and economic ministers of each country. We can see what the old nomenklatura is up to in our countries. For all we know, there might be some kind of underground communist international, and funds might be being transferred to finance communist activity.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] On 27 October, you will be a simple voter for a while. Who will you vote for?

[Walesa] As you can see, I wear an image of the Virgin Mary in my lapel. Christian values lie close to my heart. However, this must not be considered a sign of clericalism or blind medieval servitude. My God, my faith, Christianity, and Catholicism all lie in the 21st century. They do not conflict with the development of civilization; on the contrary, they form a challenge in the construction of a new order in Europe and Poland.

USdRP Chairman Views Elections, Coalitions

AU1510153091 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA
in Polish 8 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic, USdRP, by Ryszard Choroszy, place and date not given: "The Economy Determines The Strength Of The Army"]

[Excerpts] [Choroszy] The present election code encourages a fragmentation of the parties and groups in Parliament. Suppose the Alliance of the Democratic Left wins a large number of votes. With whom would you ally yourselves in forming a government?

[Kwasniewski] I would like the post-election alliances to be based not on historical criteria, e.g. whether or not someone belonged to the Polish United Workers Party or Solidarity, but on the basis of meritorious criteria, e.g. whether or not we are in agreement as to the future of the country and the new constitution. If the new Sejm wants to earn a place in history, it should create programmatic coalitions for the fulfillment of specific tasks. Then we will be able to say that, as far as Polish democracy is

concerned, we have much in common and that we agree with the proposals of the Democratic Union, or Labor Solidarity, or the Democratic-Social Movement.

[Choroszy] What political pattern do you want for the country?

[Kwasniewski] First of all, we want a law-governed country, with neither a communist nor a Christian ideology—a country with clear and precise laws written down in statutes and acts of Parliament. Second, this should be an efficient country, with clear tasks for public institutions. We want a dominant Sejm and a strong government and president, who acts as an arbiter, not as a political party. [passage omitted]

[Choroszy] Now that nationalism is making itself felt in Europe and along our eastern border, what kind of army do we need?

[Kwasniewski] An efficient one, with a deterrent role. We need large and well-equipped fast-reaction forces, with highly-professional soldiers.

[Choroszy] In other words, a professional army.

[Kwasniewski] This problem must be examined in the light of the budget. A professional army is no doubt a question of the future. I respect the Army very much, but it is not the chief determinant of Poland's position and strength. These are determined mainly by the economy, about which I am very worried. It may turn out that, between Germany and Russia, we will not be an important partner. Also important is the creation of a regional link, something like the Benelux countries, which decided to establish far-reaching political, economic, and military cooperation years ago. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary can form a similar link, which will compel our powerful partners to treat us in a serious and partnerlike way.

Envoy to USSR on Issues, Future Walesa Visit

*LD1510225391 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Interview with Stanislaw Ciosek, Polish ambassador to the USSR, by correspondent Andrzej Jelenski after

Ciosek's talks with President Lech Walesa at Warsaw's Belvedere Palace on 15 October—recorded]

[Text] [Jelenski] Mr. Ambassador, your meeting with the president lasted nearly 45 minutes. What was the main topic? Did you talk about President Walesa's visit to Moscow?

[Ciosek] Yes, the talks lasted 45 minutes because of the enormity of the events taking place in our neighbor countries. This is not much time, you know. I had to be very concise to be able to report on what is happening there, and I think that a lot of progress has been made on removing obstacles to President Walesa's visit to the Soviet Union. As for Soviet troop withdrawal, we hope that the treaty will be initialled any day now. Every comma and period has been agreed on the general cooperation treaty of the two states. So far, the most important issue which has not been resolved yet and which is taking a lot of our time concerns economic relations. The profound collapse of these relations continues.

[Jelenski] Watching closely the development of the political and economic events in the Soviet Union, are you of the opinion that a climate is opening now which is conducive to the cooperation of Poland with its eastern neighbor?

[Ciosek] Yes, of course. If we look at this from the prospect of not a year or two but 10 or 15 years, we should have a good position as regards the trade with this region of the world. This will be the region that, in my view, having great riches and qualified workers at its disposal, will eventually rise up, and we will obtain many mutual advantages from this.

[Jelenski] Returning to your meeting with the president, did you discuss the specific date for President Walesa's Moscow visit?

[Ciosek] Yes, at the moment we can only specify that it will take place this year because the specific date will depend on the progress of events in Poland, e.g. when the government in Poland is formed. I think we have to wait also for certain events in the Soviet Union. The coming weeks will decide what this Soviet Union will be like, but I think that the visit should not be postponed later than this year. I feel President Walesa's visit will take place this year.

Radio Reports Parliament's Receipt of Cabinet List

AU1610102291

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0752 GMT carries a live relay from the Romanian Parliament in Bucharest of a joint session of the two chambers of Parliament—the Senate and Deputies' Assembly—at which Prime Minister-designate Theodor Stolojan reads a Report on the Government Program and Objectives and presents the list of the new government to the Parliament for discussion by the deputies and endorsement by Parliament.

Presenting his proposed government, Prime Minister-designate Stolojan says: "Please permit me to present the proposals for Romania's Government which will" act in the "coming period." He mentions that he himself will hold the position of prime minister and then continues by listing the cabinet, citing a few biographical details for each member as follows:

Minister of foreign affairs—Mr. Adrian Nastase, a graduate of law;

Minister of national defense—Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu, graduate of the Technical Military Academy, who worked as a scientific researcher;

Minister of justice—Mr. Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, who graduated from Bucharest's Faculty of Law, was a member of the National Liberal Party since 1945 and has held the position of vice president of that party since 1990;

Minister of interior—Mr. Victor Babiuc, proposed by the National Salvation Front, graduated from Bucharest's Faculty of Law, and worked as legal counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Trade;

Minister of economy and finance—Mr. George Danielescu, proposed by the National Liberal Party, graduated from the Academy of Economic Studies, and worked as scientific researcher;

Minister of labor and social protection—Mr. Dan Mircea Popescu, proposed by the National Salvation Front, graduated from Bucharest's Faculty of Law, and worked as scientific researcher and university lecturer;

Minister of trade and tourism—Mr. Constantin Fota, who graduated from the Faculty of Foreign Trade and worked as an economist at the Chamber of Commerce and as director in the Ministry of Foreign Trade;

Minister of industry—Mr. Dan Constantinescu, who graduated from the Faculty of Automatics and worked as an engineer in the optics enterprise and as director in the Ministry of Resources and Industry;

Minister of agriculture and food—Mr. Petre Marculescu, who was proposed by the Agrarian Democratic Party and graduated from the Nicolae Balcescu Agronomical Institute and worked as chief engineer at agricultural units in Ialomita and Calarasi Counties;

Minister of transportation—Mr. Traian Basescu, who graduated from Mircea cel Batrin Naval Institute and worked at NAVROM trade agency;

Minister of communications—Mr. Andrei Chirica, who

graduated from the Faculty of Electronics and Telecommunications of Bucharest and worked with the radio and television stations;

Minister of public works and territorial planning—Mr. Dan Nicolae, who was proposed by the National Salvation Front, graduated from the Architecture Institute, and worked as technical director of design institute in Dolj County;

Minister of environment—Mr. Marcian Bleahu, proposed by the Ecological Movement of Romania, who graduated from Bucharest University—Faculty of Science—and worked as professor at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Bucharest University;

Minister of education and science—Mr. Mihai Golu, proposed by the National Salvation Front, who graduated from the Faculty of Psychology and worked as professor at Bucharest University;

Minister of culture—Ludovic Spiess, who has had a musical career at home and abroad—in Italy and Germany;

Minister of health—Mr. Mircea Maiorescu, who graduated from Bucharest's Faculty of Pediatrics, specialized in France, Hungary, and Germany, and worked as a university professor;

Minister of youth and sports—Mr. Ioan Moldovan, who was proposed by the National Salvation Front; Minister for relations with Parliament—Mr. Ion Aurel Stoica, proposed by the National Salvation Front, who graduated from the Faculty of Mechanics of Cluj-Napoca and was on the staff of the Polytechnical Institute in Cluj;

Secretary of state at the Ministry of Education and Science—Mr. Emil Tokacs, government member, who was proposed by the National Liberal Party, graduated from Bucharest's Polytechnical Institute, and worked as an engineer on construction sites.

After presenting the cabinet list, Stolojan says that "I have enjoyed the support of the political parties with which I conducted a constant dialogue during the past days. These consultations permitted me to draw the conclusion once again that the general elections, which should be held as soon as possible, constitute one of the most important solutions for easing tension."

The Parliament session continues with speeches on Stolojan's report and proposed cabinet, after which a vote will be taken on the government list.

'Extremist' Party Threatens Invasion of Hungary

LD1510231791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Romania's most extremist nationalist party is threatening the Romanian Army's invasion of Hungary. Listen to Tibor Bogdan's report from Bucharest:

[Bogdan] The Romanian Army will once and for all cool down the hotheaded Horthyites of Hungary, if it is forced to enter Budapest for the third time. This is in a statement by the Greater Romania Party—the most extremist, nationalistic, chauvinistic, and anti-Semitic political group—issued in connection with the autonomy

endeavor of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz—UDMR in Romania] faction that goes by the name of the Szeklerland Political Grouping. This would mean, at the same time, that this perpetually infectious hotbed of Europe would thereby definitively vanish from the map of the world. The Greater Romania Party says that, if anyone strives against Romania's territorial integrity, it could spark off World War III. The excessively heated reaction, triggered by the planned step of the RMDSz faction of Odorheiu Secuiesc, can more or less be explained by the forthcoming local election campaign. Tuesday's central papers, virtually without exception, devoted a wide spread to the call for a referendum in connection with self-determination, which they describe as an irredentist, nationalistic, chauvinistic, revisionist manifestation directed against the country's unity, independence, and sovereignty.

AZI, the official daily of the National Salvation Front, deals with the issue in several articles, just like the daily DIMINEATA, which is close to presidential circles. A somewhat more moderate tone is struck by ADEVARUL, the biggest circulation Bucharest paper, as well as by ROMANIA LIBERA, the most prestigious opposition paper. In its statement, the Civic Alliance Party, the most comprehensive opposition group, although it also condemns the idea of territorial self-determination, at the same time, nevertheless, points out that the demand by the extremist circles calling for convening the Supreme National Defense Council for the purpose of taking extraordinary measures, is an exaggerated reaction.

UDMR Leader Says Szekler Efforts 'Unfortunate'

AU1610095291 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO
in Hungarian 10 Oct p 1

["Statement by RMDSZ National Chairman Geza Domokos"]

[Text] The anniversary of the general Szekler National Meeting of 1848 in Agyagfalva was first celebrated freely last year. In the conditions that emerged after December 1989, the free commemoration of the events that took place on 16 October 1848 in the Szeklers' history could become a traditional holiday.

As for connecting this anniversary with the territorial autonomy of the Szeklerland and relevant organizational concepts, I think these endeavors are mostly unfortunate. First of all, it is unclear what the organizers, who call themselves the "political group of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz—UDMR in Romanian] in the Szeklerland," really want with this autonomy, how they envisage this autonomy, what its function and structure will be, and how it will adjust to the legal framework currently still in force. On the other hand, the situation in this country is very tense, and there is a government crisis here; a government that has resigned is currently managing the country, and negotiations are currently under way to create a coalition

government. Everyone is full of concern, uncertainty, and anxiety. Tragic news arrives from Yugoslavia daily, where national and ethnic tensions flared up into a bloody armed conflict. Therefore, given such domestic and international conditions, it is irresponsible to speak about territorial autonomy here and now, particularly in circumstances in which alarming positions are emerging from Romanian political parties and forces that can even be considered our partners and from the independent Romanian press that, as a result of irresponsible rumors, generally understands and supports our issues. On the occasion of the latest miners' action in Bucharest, one of the newspapers published a report according to which RMDSz "radicals" had created a separate party with the intention of raising the issue of Transylvania. In other words, systematic disinformation, false rumors, and efforts to alarm Romanian society are flowing everywhere and on all levels. In such conditions, such an initiative would confuse the picture very much and would isolate us; it would also lead to an increase in suspicion in Romanian society and would also distance those with whom we are negotiating and whom we regard as our partners. The most important thing is that, on the eve of local and parliamentary elections, such a politically immature and hasty initiative would give the Romanian National Unity Party, the party of the Vatra Romaneasca, a huge advantage. This party has kept alarming the Romanian society with something like this. Therefore, such a step taken by those calling themselves "organizers" would only play into the hands of those who incite tensions. Bucharest, 8 October 1991

UDMR Official on Minorities Ministry Decision

AU1610094291 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 12 Oct 91 p 2

[MTI report: "Gyorgy Tokay's Statement—There Will Be No National Minority Ministry in Romania"]

[Text] "Our demand for the creation of a ministry responsible for national minorities has not been met. Perhaps the most unfortunate thing for us is that this demand was rejected not only by the governing party but by all the opposition parties in Parliament too, with the exception of the environmental protection party"—Gheorghe Tokay, Arad representative and member of the delegation of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz—UDMR in Romanian], declared after the third meeting between the RMDSz delegation and Prime Minister-Designate Theodor Stolojan on 10 October.

"It would be too early to draw conclusions, but it seems that serious changes have to take place in the mentality of Romanian society to clearly see that the minorities, including the Hungarians, should not be regarded as a source of tension. We are citizens of this country, and we want to preserve our culture, heritage, language, and national identity, and no one can hold us back us from this endeavor"—Gheorghe Tokay said.

Gheorghe Tokay pointed out that the RMDSz had asked for the creation of a ministry in charge of national minorities because they think that the promise declared on 5 January 1990 should have been fulfilled long ago.

The activity of government bodies dealing with the special problems of the national minorities should be integrated. This institutionalization, in the form of a ministry in charge of national minorities, would also be a guarantee and a framework that could have contributed to solving the existing real problems and tensions. The parties participating in forming a government have missed this opportunity. Unfortunately, this all shows that, even before the approval of the new constitution, the nation-state thesis formulated in the first article of the draft constitution has become a factor preventing a European-level solution of the national minority issue.

Gheorghe Tokes pointed out that, as a political body that represents the interests of Hungarians living in Romania, the RMDSz did not want a portfolio when it joined the negotiations on forming a new government. It negotiated for principles and guarantees, rather than for power. At the latest round of negotiations, the prime minister-designate offered three ministerial positions: finance and economic affairs, industry, and trade. The 41 RMDSz deputies and senators are a serious factor in Parliament, and it is only natural for the RMDSz to have its parliamentary presence reflected at government level. However, it seems that we did not succeed in this.

PRM Accuses UDMR of 'Revisionist' Acts

AU1510090991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1743 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/10/1991—The leadership of "Romania Mare" Party (PRM) accuses the UDMR [Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania] leadership considering it involved in "revisionist" and "provocative" actions taken "behind the lying screen they call human rights," shows PRM in a statement protesting against the intention to proclaim Covasna and Harghita Counties autonomous.

As far as we are concerned, says the PRM, we have exasperatingly called attention to the fact that an end should be put at any cost to the avalanche of anti-Romanian activities, to the demolition of statues and the profanation of our tricolour, to the inimical propaganda through the Hungarian press, radio and television. The "Romania Mare" Party publicly accuses of treason of national interests all the forces that either passively or by entering into compact with the enemy have contributed to seriously deteriorating the situation. Unless the most drastic measures are immediately taken and if the terrorist action of our centuries-old enemies is minimized this time, too, our party together with other sound national forces will feel absolved of any obligation to the power bodies and will urgently pass on to organizing national guards. We believe we need not do this and the relevant bodies shall take the most severe measures to punish the guilty according to the law and to stop such a dangerous course of events.

Vatra Says 'False Problem of Minorities' Created

AU1210162791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0806 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1991—A meeting of the National Steering Council of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union was held in Cluj-Napoca on Friday, October 11, as part of the events marking 47 years since Cluj's liberation from Hitlerite-Horthy occupation.

A communique sent to the national news agency "ROMPRES" shows that during the meeting "the unity of opinions on all major problems concerning the present and the future of the Romanian people was confirmed. The National Steering Council considers that the Romanian society lives through a deep-going moral, economic, social and political crisis originating in forces alien from the country's interests. In that context it is imperative that in the immediately following period the constitution should be finalized and adopted. The communique expresses agreement to the continuation of the economic reform but suggests a resumption of parliamentary debates over the privatization law, with the articles that lead to the estrangement of part of the national wealth being discussed. The document calls attention to the fact that "both at home and outside the borders there are scenarios meant to destabilize and disunite the country, to destroy national consciousness. We consider that a tenacious, perseverent attempt is made to create a false problem of minorities to justify actions directed against the Romanian state," the communique sent by the National Steering Council of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union shows.

PRM Pleads for Army Involvement in Recovery

AU1410152991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1346 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/10/1991—The all-country conference of the "Romania Mare" Party [PRM] launched "an appeal to all patriotic forces in the country and abroad" read by Prof. Mircea Musat, and considered to be signed by all the participants in that meeting by the applause that marked the end of its reading.

The document calls on all associations, bodies and political parties, Romanian personalities at home and in exile "to overcome all animosities, pride or circumstantial reasons, and make a joint front for Romania's survival." An end is also demanded to the fights for power, the immediate and unconditioned release of all those abusively arrested after December 22, 1989, is demanded while "any attempt at blaming the presidency, the Romanian Armed Forces and police" is rejected.

As for the current home socioeconomic situation, the document assesses that "an accurate evaluation of resources and raw materials, just as a recovery of the large productive units and a serious involvement of the Armed Forces in this process are a major guarantee that people will work, that we will not register a succession of strikes, that food and energy problems can be kept under control."

Parliamentary Immunity, Voican Case Reviewed

AU1110151991 Bucharest *CURIERUL NATIONAL*
in Romanian 5 Oct 91 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Was Mr. Voican Mistaken in Counting on Parliamentary Immunity?"]

[Text] It is the first time in post-revolutionary Romania that parliamentary immunity has been called upon in a case of public notoriety. We are, of course, talking about the case of Senator Gelu Voican-Voiculescu, who dropped a bombshell and—when the response should have followed—launched another missile (at least for the public): "I cannot be brought to trial because I enjoy parliamentary immunity!" We thought that it would not be uninteresting to inform the public about this issue and provide certain clarifications of things that are still unclear. The information that we are presenting to you was provided by the Technical-Legal Department of Romania's Senate.

Parliamentary immunity means protecting parliamentarians against judicial surveillance and aims to guarantee parliamentarians' freedom of thought and action. Senators and deputies cannot be brought to judicial account, detained, arrested, searched, or brought to trial on criminal or law violation charges without the previous consent of the Senate or of the Deputies' Chamber, respectively. However, parliamentarians can still be brought to trial if certain conditions are fulfilled. The request for bringing someone to trial can be made by the prosecutor general, and it is generally forwarded to the president of the Senate or the president of the Deputies' Chamber, depending on the case. Such requests are

included in the agenda, and the president informs the senators or deputies of such a request during public debates. The request is later sent to the Appointments, Discipline, and Immunity Commission for examination. This commission is the one that establishes whether there are serious grounds for approving the request. The decision on such issues is taken after at least half plus one of the members of the commission have cast their votes. The prosecutor general is duty-bound to forward to the investigation committee all documents this committee requests. Later, the Senate or the Deputies Assembly takes a decision by secret vote within a plenary session. In order to be valid, the decision needs to be approved by at least two-thirds of the members present.

In conclusion, no parliamentarian can be brought to trial without the request of the prosecutor general and without the conditions that we have mentioned being fulfilled. Thus, this matter is not a joke and the law is very clear in this respect. The prosecutor, in order to forward such a request, must have reliable proof, proof that is first examined by him; then, the discipline commission and later the plenary session examine the documents. All these measures lend parliamentary immunity real substance, and the necessary formalities, which should be carried out prior to withdrawing parliamentary immunity, eliminate possible abuses against parliamentarians.

Thus, it can be done. Parliamentary immunity can be withdrawn, but it is very difficult! On Friday, 4 October 1200, no request from the Prosecutor General's Office had been received to withdraw Mr. Voican's parliamentary immunity. But....

International

TANJUG Commentary Views Gorbachev's Mediating Efforts

LD1510155491 Moscow TASS in English
1032 GMT 15 Oct 91

[By TASS correspondent Anatoly Bocharov]

[Text] Belgrade October 15 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev's meetings with leaders of Serbia and Croatia, which are to be held in Moscow today, are in the focus of Soviet political circles and foreign commentators. This heightened interest is explained by at least two reasons. Firstly, by the fact that the Soviet leader has assumed the role of mediator in the settlement of the Yugoslavian crisis. This adds particular importance to the meetings. Secondly, the Yugoslav tragedy has reached a turning point: either the sides will start a peaceful political dialogue on the country's future, or get involved in an all-out war with unpredictable consequences.

This idea keynotes the commentary, devoted to Gorbachev's talks with Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman transmitted by the TANJUG News Service.

The results of the meetings between the leaders of the two largest Yugoslavian republics with the Soviet leader are bound to influence further developments in Yugoslavia. Foreign analysts believe that Gorbachev, drawing on the experience of his own country, which is so far able to avoid large-scale bloody conflicts, will be able to work out a "Yugoslavian formula". He has clearly stated in his recent television interview that any rupture of relations among the republics is fraught with the danger of "dialogues" being conducted through gun sight notches.

"Hence," the commentary stresses, "it should be expected that the leaders of Serbia and Croatia will be offered concrete proposals intended to help a country, so close to the Soviet Union, to restore peace and start a dialogue on its future. But, in the final count, it depends on Yugoslavia whether the Soviet Union's and the USSR president's mediation mission will be successful or not," TANJUG notes.

TANJUG on Moscow Agreement To Resolve Crisis

LD1510222691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2145 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—The presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, agreed in Moscow on Tuesday to begin peace talks within a month and called on the Soviet Union, the United States and the European Community to help organize the negotiations.

This was stated in a communique signed tonight, with the mediation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, by Milosevic and Tudjman.

The communique was published after a joint working dinner following Gorbachev's separate talks with Milosevic and Tudjman this afternoon.

The first point of the communique underlined the need for an "immediate stop of armed actions in Croatia."

The second point was for the leaders of Serbia and Croatia to "begin negotiations on all questions that are the subject of disputes and disagreements" within a month.

The communique was read, in the presence of Gorbachev and the leaders of Serbia and Croatia, to a group of Yugoslav and foreign journalists by Gorbachev's press spokesman Andrey Grachev.

The communique said the negotiations should be held "keeping in mind the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia."

It further pointed out that the sovereign rights of peoples and the equality of Serbia and Croatia must be taken into account in the forthcoming negotiations with the aim of securing a firm peace and good-neighbourly relations between the two Yugoslav republics.

Finally, the communique said the two leaders would, in view of their special responsibility, address the Soviet Union, the United States and the European Community with a request for their good will offices in organizing the process of forthcoming negotiations.

Further on Talks

LD1510223391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2154 GMT 15 Oct 91

[By Mihailo Saranovic]

[Text] Moscow, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—After holding separate talks with the presidents of the Republics of Serbia and Croatia, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, Gorbachev tonight was able to ensure a continuation through tripartite talks over dinner, which the Soviet leader offered to the two republican presidents. Gorbachev thus scored the first point in his engagement on solving the Yugoslav crisis.

Such an outcome today was only indicated but not envisaged in the initial programme of the visit to Moscow by the Serbian and Croatian presidents.

Political circles pointed out that "it would be ideal" if tripartite talks took place as this would be a chance to take joint stands, viewpoints and approaches.

The same circles also said that tripartite talks would be an indicator that something was achieved in the separate talks which Gorbachev had with Milosevic and Tudjman.

It should thus be concluded that the talks with Milosevic which lasted about two hours and only ten minutes less with Tudjman, were not simply an exchange of views.

Milosevic told jouranalists after his first meeting with Gorbachev, from which nothing concrete "leaked out", that the talks were "very open and constructive."

Milosevic said that he thought the Soviet president had quite a clear picture on what was happening in Yugoslavia.

Milosevic undercored that "full agreement was reached that a peaceful road to settling the Yugoslav crisis, which assumes the protection of the interests of each people, was the only just and humane solution."

Each people, Milosevic added, has the right to self-determination, the right to express its will in settling the future of Yugoslavia.

Milosevic hoped that the Soviet Union will offer full support to such an approach.

In the meantime, Mikhail Gorbachev, just prior to the beginning of the talks with Tudjman, told Yugoslav journalists, particularly stressing that he was addressing the Yugoslav public, that he is very concerned about the situation in which the peoples of Yugoslavia were in.

Gorbachev urged seeking out a solution for emerging from the crisis "in which the brotherly Yugoslav peoples are in and to do this through cooperation and the preservation of what linked them." Gorbachev expressed readiness to contribute to a political solution of the crisis "if this was the wish of the Yugoslav friends."

After his talks with Gorbachev which lasted one hour and forty minutes, Tudjman said that the talks would continue but at a joint meeting of the delegations of the Soviet Union, Serbia and Croatia over dinner.

Tudjman said that the Soviet initiative concretely regarded an immediate end to the war in Yugoslavia and launching a political dialogue for resolving the crisis.

Gorbachev, Milosevic, Tudjman Sign Cease-Fire Communique

*LD1510233291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2256 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Moscow, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—In Moscow this evening Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the presidents of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, and Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, signed a communique which envisages an immediate cessation of the armed conflicts and the start of talks between the leaderships of Serbia and Croatia, within one month. The leaders of Serbia and Croatia are calling on the USSR, United States, and the EC to offer their goodwill offices in the forthcoming negotiations.

The text of the communique from the joint meeting of presidents Gorbachev, Milosevic, and Tudjman reads:

1. It is essential to immediately halt all military conflicts.
2. Within a month, the top leaders of Serbia and Croatia will begin talks on all issues which are the subject of conflict and disagreements, and in these talks consideration will be given to the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The talks must be conducted with respect for the sovereign rights of the peoples and equality of the republics of Serbia and Croatia, with the aim of establishing a firm and lasting peace and good-neighborly relations between Serbia and Croatia.

3. The presidents of Serbia and Croatia, recognizing their own special responsibility, also call on the USSR and United States to offer their goodwill offices in the organization and holding of the negotiation process.

Milosevic, Tudjman Comment on Moscow Talks

*AU1510195191 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Interviews with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by special correspondent Dusan Cukic in Moscow on 15 October—recorded]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, arrived in Moscow today after 1300 [1200 GMT] at the invitation of Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union. We addressed President Milosevic at Sheremetyevo Airport:

[Cukic] Would you please tell us with which intentions and wishes you arrived in Moscow?

[Milosevic] Well, intentions and wishes are known: I hope that we will have open [otvoren] and constructive talks in accord with good relations between our countries. We are now at the beginning. I hope that the talks will meet these expectations of ours.

[Cukic] A little later, talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Slobodan Milosevic opened in the Kremlin. A cordial meeting that took place before the cameras of many reporters and was attended by the foreign ministers of the USSR and Serbia, Boris Pankin and Vladislav Jovanovic, included a discussion about the situation in Yugoslavia and the way to end the war.

Gorbachev warmly greeted his guest Milosevic and said that he sincerely [iskreno] understands the situation in our country and that he therefore wishes to help in solving the crisis. The talks then continued behind closed doors and lasted more than two hours.

[Milosevic, in hallway after the talks] The talks were very open [otvoren], very constructive, and I think that the

Soviet president has a completely realistic picture of everything that is happening in Yugoslavia.

We completely agree about the assessment that a peaceful road in solving the Yugoslav crisis is the only humane and the only just road, which implies that the interests of every people should be equally protected and that every people should equally express their rights to self-determination and their will concerning the future relations in Yugoslavia.

I hope that the Soviet Union will extend its full support to such a peaceful road. This is my impression from the talks with President Gorbachev.

[Cukic] Thank you. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will continue his visit to Moscow tomorrow as a guest of Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, who had sent an invitation to a meeting before.

It is expected that apart from political topics the talks will also touch upon the economic cooperation of Serbia and Russia to which, as we have learned, both sides devote great importance.

President Tudjman has arrived in Moscow aboard a plane with an Irish insignia. We asked for a statement on the airport runway.

Mr. Tudjman, a statement for Belgrade Television: With what wishes and intentions have you arrived in (?Moscow)?

[Tudjman] I want to acquaint Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin with the crisis in Yugoslavia, with the war waged against Croatia, with a hope that Moscow can exert an influence with a view to helping this hapless war end.

[Cukic] To what extent is Croatia to be blamed for this war?

[Video shows Tudjman turning around and walking away]

Serbian Foreign Minister on Hague Conference

*AU1510130991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Report by Milorad Denda from The Hague]

[Text] Presidents of the Yugoslav republics and the top federal officials will attend the second summit of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on Friday, 18 October. This was the most important conclusion of the fifth ministerial meeting at the conference on Yugoslavia in the capital city of the Netherlands today. Therefore, the meeting will be on Friday, 18 October and not as we reported earlier, on Tuesday, 22 October. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands tonight stated that the date was changed because no progress has been made in the commissions and because of the absence of a constructive approach.

The decision was made by Hans van den Broek, foreign minister of the Netherlands, in agreement with Chairman Lord Carrington. According to the statement, at the summit the presidents of the Yugoslav republics will be offered specific proposals by the working groups.

A general consensus was reached today at the ministerial meeting that the conference will end within one to two months. Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference, informed the journalists that not much progress has been made so far in the work of the three commissions, and that after working intensively until 18 October, there will be an opportunity for them to make some progress and perhaps reach some agreements.

According to Lord Carrington, human rights and the rights of the Serbian community in Croatia are one of the important factors in the negotiation process. This issue must be urgently discussed. Lord Carrington informed the journalists that Stipe Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, will take part in the summit on 18 October. This raised the question among the observers of how the man who represents the country that he has proclaimed dead will feel. It is assumed that all members of the SFRY Presidency will be present.

Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the general secretary of the United Nations, also took part in today's plenary session of ministers and the news conference. He is returning to Yugoslavia tomorrow for talks with other presidents of the republics.

Concerning the lack of constructiveness, let us say that the foreign ministers of Slovenia and Croatia, Rupel and Separovic respectively, were today interested in one thing only. They only wanted to discuss the separation of accounts. Separovic accused Serbia and Montenegro in the well-known style of allegedly usurping power. Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of Serbia, rejected these accusations and spoke in detail about what a special status for Serbs in Croatia should entail. Here is how Minister Jovanovic assessed the work of the conference today:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] Concerning the issues that dominated the meeting today, they were more or less what they have been up to now. However, a special stress was placed on the importance of the meeting that the coordinator, Ambassador Wijnaendts, had in Paris with the legitimate representatives of the two Serbian autonomous regions, as well as the agreement that they meet again so a solution can be found that is compatible with what has already been agreed, namely a special status for the Serbian regions in Croatia, regions in which the Serbs constitute a large majority.

The essence of this has not been agreed on yet, but our side explained that this is a synonym for the sovereign right to self-determination. In any case this should imply the full authority of the Serbs in these regions in all areas of life. In addition, we also discussed the options that are being offered with regard to the organization of relations between the Yugoslav people in the period ahead. On

this occasion we repeated once again the importance that we attach to the Belgrade Initiative and stressed that the two parliaments, the Serbian and Montenegrin, adopted this initiative, and that it was also welcomed by the great assembly of the Serbian autonomous regions. At present, only Bosnia, that is, its assembly, is deciding on what it thinks about this initiative now, and the results are not known yet.

There were also many other points of view expressed by various participants. Some attention was paid to economic relations. It was pointed out that the entire Yugoslav economy is in a very difficult situation and that the work of this conference should therefore be speeded up. Today we did not fail to hear again that Yugoslavia does not exist anymore. This is claimed by the two republics, which had obviously decided to separate with Yugoslavia much earlier.

However, this could not affect the conference itself. The fact that their ministers are at the conference shows the political and legal worth, in practical terms, of their decisions on the independence of these republics. [end recording]

Mesic 'Not Likely' To Be Invited to Hague

LD1510142291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1137 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 15 (TANJUG)—Chairman of the Yugoslavia Conference Lord Carrington is not likely to invite Yugoslav Presidency President Stjepan Mesic to attend the plenary session of the presidents of all Yugoslav republics and representatives of the federation, scheduled to be held at The Hague next Friday, TANJUG learned on Tuesday from well-informed sources here.

Speaking at a press conference after a ministerial meeting on Monday evening, Lord Carrington said that Mesic, in his capacity of Yugoslav Presidency president, would be invited to the meeting to represent the federation.

The sources, however, say that the invitation will not be sent because political reasons have pushed procedure into the background.

No official confirmation of this has been made as yet and there are no reliable indications whether other representatives of Yugoslav federal institutions would participate in the Friday meeting.

Loncar To Represent Mesic

AU1510162291 Paris AFP in English
1604 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, Oct 15 (AFP) - The Yugoslav federal president, the Croatian Stipe Mesic, will stay away from Friday's European Community (EC)-sponsored meeting of Yugoslav leaders here, a spokesman for the Dutch foreign minister said here Tuesday.

Mesic will be represented instead by federal foreign minister, Budimir Loncar, Andre Haspels said.

The spokesman refused to say why the Yugoslav president was not attending the meeting, though observers here suggested the EC might have asked him to stay away in a bid to assuage the Serbian-led faction which no longer recognizes him as federal leader.

The EC's mediator on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington, had earlier said that Mesic and the presidents of all six Yugoslav republics would be called to a meeting here in a bid to give new impetus to the stalled peace process.

In Zagreb, Slovenia, one of the two republics to have proclaimed independence from Yugoslavia, said it might reconsider taking part in the Hague conference.

Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrije Rupel, quoted by HINA NEWS AGENCY, said the republic wanted immediate discussion on the sharing out of Yugoslavia's assets and did not consider that problems pertaining to minorities and the redrawing of borders could be quickly resolved.

Croatia's Granic Seeks French Humanitarian Aid

LD1410112191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] On behalf of the Croatian government, Vice President Dr. Mato Granic has sent a letter to the French Government Secretariat for Humanitarian Aid. In his letter, among other things, he describes the exceptionally difficult situation in Croatia which is waging a fierce defensive war. The damage caused by the economic war and by communist Yugoslav Army attacks on Croatia amounts to \$15 billion, which equals the republic's gross national income.

For this reason I am appealing to the Secretariat for Humanitarian Aid of the Government of the Republic of France to help in an organized way the victims of terrorism and aggression against the population on Croatian territory. Any aid that can be offered would be useful and welcomed, the letter stresses.

Greguric Appeals for International Help To Lift Blockades

LD1510124391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Dr. Franjo Greguric, president of the Croatian government and of the crisis headquarters of the Republic of Croatia, has sent a letter to Hans van den Broek, chairman of the EC Council of Ministers. In his letter, the president of the [Croatian] government asks for help from the international community in lifting the blockade of Vukovar and Dubrovnik and in delivering humanitarian aid to the defenseless civilian population in these towns.

As a result of a constant bombardment from the Danube River, from the air, from the Republic of Serbia, and from the enemy encirclement, which is making any approach to the Croatia defense forces impossible, Vukovar has been completely destroyed. The town is running short of basic foodstuffs, the food stocks are running out, and the number of dead is growing. At the moment, there are about 250 wounded people in the hospital, which although almost completely demolished is still being attacked constantly. Out of this number, 110 are in a serious state and fear has been expressed for their lives. Despite superhuman efforts by the medical teams in the hospital, the incidence of death is larger than expected because of the lack of medicine, blood plasma, and other medical supplies.

Any continuation of this situation and constant attacks on Vukovar will undoubtedly cause fresh and even larger human casualties.

It was precisely because of this that the memorandum contained in the agreement on an absolute cease-fire signed on 8 October envisaged the sending of humanitarian aid to Vukovar. The agreement, although reached under the auspices of the EC, is not being respected.

In light of the above, the crisis headquarters of the Republic of Croatia at its session yesterday decided to approach the international community, primarily the UN, the EC, the CSCE and some influential states, to ask for help in lifting the blockade of Vukovar and Dubrovnik and in delivering humanitarian aid to the defenseless civilian population.

The Croatian government will ask the EC observer mission to use its authority to ensure an immediate implementation of the 8 October agreement. The government asks the mission, in cooperation with other interested countries of the EC, to consider the alternative way of delivering food and medicines to Vukovar and to evacuate the wounded, possibly by helicopter.

The crisis headquarters of the Croatian government demands that the Yugoslav Army immediately and in accordance with assumed obligations fulfill its part of the obligations stemming from the memorandum on the delivery of humanitarian aid to Vukovar, while the Republic of Croatia will, depending on the fulfillment of the Army obligations, fulfill the remaining obligations set out in the memorandum of the agreement.

In light of the exceptional humanitarian significance of the convoy, Prime Minister Franjo Greguric is asking Van den Broek to do his utmost on behalf of the European Community so that food and medicines are urgently delivered to the citizens of Vukovar, and to make possible the evacuation of the wounded, women, and children from that town.

On this occasion, the perfidity of the Yugoslav Army should be highlighted, which by thwarting the delivery of

the aid abused the convoy to supply their forces with new weapons and equipment and to bring reinforcements to their barracks in Vukovar.

The convoy case is yet further proof that without the complete withdrawal of the Army from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, there is no solution to the Yugoslav political crisis, concludes the letter of Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric sent to the chairman of the European Community, Hans van den Broek.

Croatian Justice Party Rejects Hague Agreement

*LD1510190791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—The Hague agreement is unacceptable for Croatia and the Croatian people, Croatian Justice Party (HSP) Chairman Dobrosav Paraga said today. He accused the leadership of agreeing "behind the back of the Croatian people" to a reduction of the Croatian territory. Paraga said during his news conference that the full text of The Hague agreement "was hidden from the Croatian public," claiming that the text referred to "eastern Slavonia" as a "special unit outside Croatia."

During his news conference, Paraga also made a number of observations on the work of the Croatian Government and leadership, especially on the conduct of Croatian defense. He asked for the Defense Ministry to be handed to the HSP. He described Defense Ministry personnel as "useless" [nesposobni].

"One can no longer say that Croatia does not have enough weapons," said Ante Djapic, an HSP leadership member. "Croatia does not have enough weapons, and the ineptness among the top leadership is responsible for the defeats," he said. HSP leaders also mentioned betrayal in the Croatian Army ranks. They accused the authorities of holding prisoner without grounds some members of this Party and repeated their accusations concerning the murder of Party Vice Chairman Ante Paradzik. [passage omitted]

Reportage on UN Envoy Vance Meetings

Tupurkovski, Gligorov Meetings

*LD1510175291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Skopje, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—"Acceptable solutions can be found only on the basis of democracy and the respect for inalienable rights of Republics as independent states and on the basis of their international recognition," Vasil Tupurkovski, SFRY Presidency member from Macedonia, and Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, concluded today during talks in Skopje.

During the talks, a statement stresses, Tupurkovski urged a more active UN role in seeking peaceful solutions to a growing danger from an all-out war in Yugoslavia. Tupurkovski asked that the United Nations provide, in line with its Charter, guarantees for the integrity of Republics, inviolability of their borders, and a peaceful resolution of mutual problems, specifically in the area of human and national rights.

Macedonian Republic President Kiro Gligorov today received Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general. Gligorov briefed Vance on this republic's stands and initiatives on a peaceful resolution of the crisis in the country, through political negotiations and with respect for the EC activities and The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia.

Montenegrin Leaders Brief Envoy

LD1510233691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general's special envoy, today visited Titograd, where he met Milo Djukanovic, president of the Montenegrin government; Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic; and SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic.

The Montenegrin representatives presented principled stands held by this Republic on resolving the Yugoslav crisis and expressed full readiness for the crisis to be resolved politically and democratically. At the same time, the Montenegrin Information Secretariat stresses in a statement, Vance was briefed about an initiative launched by the Montenegrin Assembly and sent to the Croatian Assembly on the need to correct borders between the two Republics in Boka Kotorska Bay.

At the end of the talks, both sides voiced the view that the forthcoming plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia, to be held on 18 October in The Hague, will be a turning point in resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Vance Meets J. Kostic, Bajramovic

AU1610101891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Cyrus Vance, Perez de Cuellar's special envoy, had separate talks last night with Yugoslav Kostic and Sejdo Bajramovic, members of the SFRY Presidency. They were very open [otvoren] talks.

Cyrus Vance was interested in the SFRY Presidency's stands on the future resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. Kostic and Bajramovic said that the Presidency is making all efforts to resolve the very serious internal crisis in a legal way, peacefully, and through negotiations.

It was stressed that the peoples who exercise the right to self-determination cannot do this to the detriment of the same such rights of other Yugoslav peoples, particularly

of those who have taken the stand to remain in Yugoslavia. It was said that these are important bases for a real long-term solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Croatia's Separovic Insists EC Discuss 'Dissociation'

LD1610033191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2210 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Zvonimir Separovic tonight said that Croatia demands that the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague review "dissociation and not creating any kind of new Yugoslavia."

"We allow only for the possibility of links which resemble those among the Scandinavian countries, i.e. EFTA [European Free Trade Association] members," Separovic told a news conference.

Separovic set out that he asked at The Hague yesterday that the principle on the non-violent changing of borders be implemented, that the E.C. condemn the aggressor and that the Yugoslav Army withdraw from Croatian territory.

EC, Army Agree Zadar Demilitarization in Progress

LD1510233191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1853 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the E.C. observer mission and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) command of the Knin Corps today assessed that the agreement on unblocking and relocating all military potential from the Croatian city of Zadar in central Dalmatia is "in general being implemented."

Georges-Marie Chini, head of the E.C. observer mission which is supervising the ceasefire in Zadar, told TANJUG that the ceasefire was being respected and that the agreement on unblocking and relocating JNA forces could be achieved in the two other Dalmatian cities of Sibenik and Split but that this depended on both sides—Croatia and the JNA.

Noting that the members of the JNA in Split and Sibenik are exhausted, that they are without water and that their food reserves are low and also that there are casualties, Commander of the Knin Corps Major General Vladimir Vukovic warned that the JNA "will not be able to wait long."

Vukovic said that the Split and Sibenik authorities so far have not shown goodwill for talks with the military authorities. Vukovic said that they expect an initiative from Split and Sibenik and that this will condition the further peace process.

EC Mission Witnesses Occupation Of Cavtat

LD1510204891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The occupying army entered Cavtat today in violation of all the stipulations of the cease-fire and truce agreement. They did so before the very eyes of the EC observer mission and representatives of the Dubrovnik municipality who at that very time were having talks with representatives of the occupying army. This was referred to by Adrian Stringer, from Britain, who heads the EC observer mission group, when speaking at a news conference in Dubrovnik this afternoon.

The troops entered Cavtat in two armored personnel carriers and introduced themselves as military police on patrol duties, but the observers noticed that they took down the Croatian flag from the Cavtat police station. They threatened the people of Cavtat, saying that their place would be destroyed if the inhabitants of Obod, which is above Cavtat, did not return to their homes. In addition they fired at the church tower.

Asked by the journalists how the observers interpreted the fact that the occupying forces first entered Osojnik and afterwards occupied Cavtat precisely during their stay in the Dubrovnik area, Adrian Stringer said that the observers protested to the commander of the military units in that area. In particular they reacted against the events in Cavtat today, which they had witnessed personally, and asked the military forces to return to the front line that existed at 1200 on 12 October when the cease-fire agreement was signed and guarantees were given that the troops would advance no further. They immediately informed the mission headquarters in Zagreb about all this and about what they had experienced. A protest will be dispatched to federal military authorities in Belgrade, Stringer said.

Journalists were also told in Dubrovnik that agreement was reached with the federal army on starting repair work on the Komolac electricity facilities which will allow the people of Dubrovnik to get water and electricity, which they had been deprived of for no less than 15 days. It is said that an agreement has also been reached whereby Dubrovnik will get food and medicines via land and sea.

Army Issues Statement

AU1510152091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Report by Dragan Mihovic]

[Text] According to Adrian Stinger, head of the EC negotiating mission, a meeting between the representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army and a Dubrovnik delegation has just ended successfully in the Konavli village of Mocici. Members of the mission are leaving for Zagreb today. A new mission will arrive sometime today. According to him, it was agreed that Dubrovnik should be supplied with food and water via land and sea routes

and that electricity be restored. One can say that today's negotiations mainly dealt with communal problems.

However, on the front line toward Cavtat, the units of the Yugoslav People's Army moved from the positions they held at the time the truce was agreed. Their movement is very extensive. One should add to this on-the-spot report a statement that we have just received, a statement with which the operative group of the Yugoslav People's Army is addressing the citizens of Cavtat. The statement reads:

The units of the Yugoslav People's Army are in the immediate vicinity of your town. Members of special units of the Yugoslav People's Army will enter the town today with the aim of checking the town and securing vital facilities. We demand that all the civilian population support this action and prevent any individual from the town of Cavtat from opening fire, because this could have fatal consequences for the town and the population. If fire is opened, we will use combat units, the statement points out.

On leaving Konavli, we heard several explosions. We were informed that they came from the facilities thought to be the fortifications of the Croatian side. In any case, there is a feeling that the days of climax on the battlefield here are near.

[At 1415 GMT, the studio announcer says: We have just received news that the units of the Yugoslav People's Army have entered Cavtat]

Further on Statement

LD1510222291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Herceg Novi, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—The command of the Boka naval sector issued a statement this evening which says:

"At about 1430 on 15 October, units of the military police of the Boka naval sector entered the town of Cavtat and conducted checks in the town. There was no armed resistance during the entry into the town, except for shots fired from a Renault car at members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. Fire was returned. A member of the Internal Affairs Ministry and two armed civilians were arrested. One woman was slightly injured and has been treated in Cavtat. Her life is not in danger.

There were no casualties or wounded among the members of the YPA.

The Cavtat police station was taken and abandoned weapons found there.

The citizens of Cavtat came out onto the streets and received and communicated with the members of the military police in a correct manner. In Cavtat there were also citizens from Konavli, Obod, and other surrounding

villages. The citizens offered assistance to the members of the military police providing information on the situation in Cavtat and the surroundings. There were no provocations aimed at the YPA unit during the checks in the town.

The citizens were told to return to their homes and to assist the military police unit in finding arms and uncovering remaining members of the paramilitary formations.

The town of Cavtat is controlled by a unit of the Boka naval sector which is securing all vital facilities in the town. Combat units did not enter the town of Cavtat," the statement of the command of the Boka naval sector says.

Federal

Presidency Session Begins in Belgrade

LD1610111591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—An SFRY Presidency session began in the Palace of the Federation shortly after 1000, the Yugoslav Presidency Information Office has announced.

The session is presided over by Vice President Branko Kostic in the presence of the following Presidency members: Borisav Jovic, Jugoslav Kostic, and Sejdo Bajramovic.

The session is also being attended by Slobodan Gligoric, president of the SFRY Assembly, and Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense. As announced, the session will discuss and make preparations for the plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague and some other issues within the Presidency's competence.

Presidency General Secretary Relieved of Duties

LD1510160991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has relieved Ivan Nahtigal, General Secretary of the SFRY Presidency, from his post because his mandate has expired, the Information Service of the SFRY Presidency revealed.

The statement states that the Presidency has appointed Andjelko Maslic, a federal adviser and the head of the Service for Issues Regarding the Protection of the Constitutional Order, to the post of deputy general secretary of the SFRY Presidency. He will take up his post on 16 October, the Information Service of the SFRY Presidency stated.

Army Controls Bosut, Danube River Territories

LD1510195191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Tovarnik, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—All places between the Bosut and Danube Rivers are from today under the control of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units and the Serbian reservists, Army sources have stated.

They went on to say that the Croatian forces have completely been destroyed in this area and are only holding Ilok now. However, according to an agreement between YPA representatives and the Croatian forces, that town should be handed over to the Army on 17 October.

On that day, the Croatian forces should surrender their weapons after which evacuation will be carried out. The most extremist members of the Croatian units who have committed war crimes over the past few months will be handed over to the Army.

A few days ago, a referendum was held in Ilok in which approximately 5,000 citizens voted in favor of leaving the place. Before the conflicts, there had been 7,000 citizens in Ilok, but the present number of Croatian forces members who are in the town now is unknown.

YPA units and members of the territorial units assumed complete control of Opatovac, Mohovo, and Sarengrad villages has been completely "mopped up." [sentence as received]

In the area between the Bosut and the Danube, smaller groups of members of the Croatian forces are still to be found, and they have been attacking YPA members and members of territorial units. A complete cease-fire has not been completely established.

Battles were fought today between YPA members and the Serbian reservists on one side and the Croatian forces on the other near Vukovar and Osijek. There are no details on casualties. Military sources described the conflicts as sporadic.

Military forces stated today that near Slavonija, Baranja, and Western Srem, which is engulfed in war conflicts, a 1900-0400 GMT curfew has been imposed. All those who do not observe the curfew will be legally prosecuted.

INA Sells Oil Outside Croatia for Foreign Exchange

LD1210071691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Zagreb INA [Croatian government owned enterprise] has decided that from noon tomorrow it will sell gasoline and other oil products to citizens from outside the Republic of Croatia for foreign exchange only.

All citizens from other republics who wish to buy gasoline will have to buy coupons at the border crossings upon entry into Croatia.

Apart from this, INA has limited the sale of its products by allowing citizens from other republics to buy only 10 liters of fuel for personal cars and 50 liters of diesel for trucks. However, if someone needs more, they can buy gasoline from other pumps at 10 liters a time.

This restriction only applies to citizens of other republics from the "former Yugoslavia." There are no restrictions on the purchase of fuel for citizens from other states.

At a news conference today, it was explained that this decision had to be adopted because of the decision of Slovenia to introduce its own currency. The dinar thus ceased to be a means of payment in Slovenia, while in other republics the dinar is being devalued.

This decision, it was said, remains valid until Croatia introduces its own currency, which, it was stressed, will not be long.

The supply of oil products in Croatia is otherwise good. The only problem is the transport of oil, as well as the present blockade of Adriatic ports. The Republic of Croatia will not run short of oil products. We can find ways of supplying them even in the worst war conditions, INA representatives said.

National Bank Plans 'Counterstrike' Against Tolar

*LD1410165991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1312 GMT 14 Oct 91*

[Text] Belgrade, October 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav dinar ceased to be legal tender in Slovenia last Saturday, being replaced by the tolar, a transitional near-money issue to be replaced in six months' time by a currency unit with the same name.

The dinar has become in Slovenia a non-convertible foreign currency, whose value the National Bank of Slovenia (NBS) at once reduced by about 15 per cent, so that 100 dinars will until the end of October buy 87.5 transitional tolar. Under a decision of the NBS, after October 31 the value of the dinar against the tolar will fluctuate freely according to supply and demand on the exchange and banks. The NBS has limited to 5,000 dinars the amount of cash that can be taken into or out of Slovenia, and the amount of tolar that can be taken abroad to 32,000, which corresponds to 1,000 Deutsch [D] marks. Goods imported into Slovenia from other Yugoslav republics are subject to a customs registration tax of one per cent, as well as sales tax.

The tolar has already appeared on exchange lists in neighbouring countries, Italy and Austria. Banks in Trieste and Gorizia (Italy) pay out over 21,000 lire for 1,000 tolar, and about 18,000 lire for 1,000 dinars. In Austria one can now get about 20 schillings for 100 tolar, very close to the official exchange rate of 32 tolar

to the German mark. The demand for the tolar is explained by the fact that petrol and many other products are far cheaper in Slovenia for Austrians and Italians than in their own countries.

The appearance of the tolar has caused the black market rate of foreign currencies in Yugoslavia to skyrocket. The D-mark cannot be obtained anywhere in Serbia for under 50 dinars, no less than four times more than its official value, 13 dinars. In Zagreb, the capital of the Republic of Croatia, the D-mark sells for 70 dinars.

In order to protect the republic from a flood of dinars from Slovenia, the National Bank of Croatia has declared the branch of Ljubljanska Banka in Zagreb a foreign bank, thus stopping transactions through that bank. The Skopje branch of Ljubljanska Banka was closed for the same reason on Friday.

Although it has not yet announced what it plans to do about the "monetary shock" from Slovenia, the Macedonian Government has introduced tougher controls: Police at Skopje airport seized on Sunday 700,000 German marks from a passenger bound for Slovenia.

Delegations of the governments of the republics of Croatia and Slovenia, headed by their finance ministers, reached agreement on October 11, as officially announced, that all payments will be conducted in convertible currency in all forms acceptable in the international banking practice.

Vice-Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) Vukasin Markovic in a statement to TANJUG said a counter-strike against the tolar would be carried out at once unless the NBS returns in the shortest possible time to the NBJ some twenty billion dinars in paper money and coins, or refuses to obey the demands of the central monetary authority in keeping with international regulations.

Slovenia

Dinar Brings Less Than Official Exchange Rate

*AU1610090191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1430 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] The brokers of the Ljubljana Stock Exchange today for the first time dealt in certificates on dinar funds deposited in the special accounts of the Service of the Social Accounting. The stock exchange brokers who dealt with these certificates demanded 800-900 stotins for a dinar. However, the buyers were willing to pay 750-850 stotins for a dinar.

The average value the dinar reached on the stock exchange today was 81.64 stotins. The stock exchange value of the dinar was, therefore, four stotins lower than the exchange rate set by the Bank of Slovenia. The use of the certificates on dinar funds deposited in the special accounts with the Service of Social Accounting is intended to pay off the debts of Slovene companies

toward creditors in Croatia—that is, Slovenia has reached an adequate payment agreement with this republic, while the payment operations with all other republics is at a complete halt.

De Michelis Says Recognition of Slovenia Imminent

LD1610030591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2207 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Rome, Oct 15 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis said on Tuesday that the independence of the present Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia would be recognized "very soon."

De Michelis told a news conference in Rome after talks with Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel that, within the framework of the negotiating process on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, "the international community will have to recognize" all the other Yugoslav republics which should request this.

De Michelis and Rupel express opinion with their talks, underscoring the concurrence of Italy's and Slovenia's views on the situation in Yugoslavia.

In today's talks with the press, the Italian foreign minister for the first time linked the position of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, a province in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, with the position of Serbs in Croatia.

The Serbian Government must guarantee the Albanian minority in Kosovo all the rights that it is demanding from Croatia for the Serbian minority in that Republic, de Michelis said.

Rupel Views Independence, CSFR Relations

AU1110162591 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 7 Oct 91 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel by Teodor Marjanovic; in Prague, date not given: "Europe Does Not Understand the Onset of the Democratization Process"]

[Text] Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel has just visited Czechoslovakia. He stated in an interview for our newspaper that he considers his reception by CSFR representatives to mean their indirect recognition of an independent Slovenia.

[Marjanovic] Slovenia's inhabitants expressed their desire to live in an independent state in a plebiscite conducted last December and the republic declared its factual independence on 26 June. In your opinion, was the war in Slovenia the logical consequence of a federal policy that demonstrated no willingness to hold talks?

[Rupel] The issue involves a recurring dispute that started in the mid 1980's. Slovenia has been moving slowly but surely toward democracy. At the same time, it

had to get rid of all the ballast from the Army to the Communist Party. So, a point was reached after which a split had to follow.

[Marjanovic] Yes, but this split could have been achieved by agreement. Why did this not happen?

[Rupel] Because Serbia is the last nation in Europe that thinks it can create wealth by possessing land. The Serbs are still constantly on the move. The migration of nations is passe as far as the majority of Slavs are concerned. Today every European establishes a home, works, and thus creates his own prosperity. The Serbian attitude is anti-European and old fashioned; Europe should have recognized and condemned this long ago.

[Marjanovic] When the war in Slovenia ended, Europe intervened with the Brioni Declaration which froze the Slovene independence process for a period of three months. This moratorium expires on 7 October. However, demands are being made in world diplomatic circles for Slovenia to extend this moratorium.

[Rupel] This is true. They proposed some kind of new treaty in The Hague on Friday [4 October] that we should all sign. That is, us, the federal institutions, and the EC. Neither Croatia nor Slovenia wanted to sign this treaty. I am committed to the Slovene parliament's decision, which made it clear that we will not extend the moratorium. We are only prepared to sign a treaty between ourselves and the European Community regarding the EC monitoring mission. It could remain in our country, but only under conditions that we would have to agree on. We will not submit ourselves to any ultimatum. We are an independent state, and this has also been confirmed in the military sense.

[Marjanovic] So, these endeavors merely conceal a desire that the Yugoslav republics should stay together?

[Rupel] This is an illusion and I am quite surprised that Europe can still live with this illusion.

[Marjanovic] Your visit to the CSFR is also a visit to the Europe you have spoken about. What is its aim? It is one of the last visits before the fateful date of 7 October.

[Rupel] I have tried to convince our Czechoslovak partners that it is essential to recognize Slovenia. I have tried to put forward a Slovene view of the Yugoslav issue and I have also become familiar with the arguments that prevail in the CSFR today regarding these issues.

[Marjanovic] Do you think they understood the situation you are in?

[Rupel] I think they understand or, at least, are beginning to understand; some understand more, others less. However, it is necessary to realize that the issue for them involves, first and foremost, specific Czechoslovak interests. These have precedence over our interests. Czechoslovak policy does not want to deviate from pan-European policy. It is possible to understand this.

However, the issue also involves an inadequate flow of information from Yugoslav representatives here in Prague and from Czechoslovak representatives in Belgrade. It is also possible to understand this. They are under pressure from Serbian propaganda because they live in Belgrade.

[Marjanovic] Could the fact that you were received by senior Czechoslovak federal representatives mean a kind of indirect recognition of Slovenia?

[Rupel] I think so.

Rupel Comments on Slovene Participation at Hague

*AU1510164691 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 0600 GMT 15 Oct 91*

[Text] Last night after his return from The Hague, Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel spoke with journalists about the course of the peace process in the future. On Friday all republican presidents of the former Yugoslavia and even the president of the presidency of the collapsed state are to come to The Hague. Drago Flis, the foreign affairs commentator, asked the foreign minister about the continuing participation of our state at the Hague conference.

[Begin Rupel recording] Our presence is not without conditions. We expect results and we are very critical of the results to date. I think that this message was expressed emphatically enough so that it will be understood. Also, of course, there is a problem. Our presence is a problem. I feel this. I think, in the Slovene political arena, this is a problem. On the other hand, this is our only link with Europe now, and it is an important link. There is no doubt about it. We will try to determine again after this Friday meeting, if we go there at all, what our further participation at this conference should be. I would say it is of strategic importance for us that we reach an agreement on final settlement of the accounts, on the issue of state succession, on property issues, and on the issues I have mentioned previously: a blockade or freezing of National Bank of Yugoslavia currency funds, reserves, that the pressure is put, so to say, on the federal institutions, and so on. These things are terribly important for us. However, it seems that Slovenia does not want to talk about such matters as, how a border will be marked or if there will be a new border at all, or whether one republic is prepared to cede to another a piece of its territory. In the end, we do not want to deal in depth with the issue of the minorities. Certainly, in principle we can state our position. However, we do not want to interfere in these affairs in Yugoslavia. I think, these are really matters that can take years. You know, the question of the Croatian minority in Serbia, the Serbian minority in Croatia, the Albanian minority, the Albanians in Kosovo, the Hungarians in Vojvodina, the Italians in Istria, and so on. These are issues which will probably require enormous time and patience. It is not necessary for Slovenia to deal with all these issues because these are not our issues. We know that, for instance, as far as the Italian minority here is concerned, we fulfill, I would say, the highest standards set for protecting minority rights. [end recording].

Democratic Alliance Splits at Special Congress

*LD1410025591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2113 GMT 13 Oct 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 13 (TANJUG)—The special congress of the Slovenian Democratic Alliance (SDZ) ended this evening with the alliance splitting into two parties and the election of their respective leaders. The party split into a majority wing which has made a turn-about to the right and a minority left wing.

The party of the right has adopted a new programme which insists on the national interests, added the name National Democratic Party to its original name and elected Slovenian Justice Minister Cajko Pirnat as its leader. The minority liberal wing has retained the old name and programme and elected republican Interior Minister Igor Bavcar as its interim leader, until a regular congress called for November.

The SDZ, so far a party of the centre founded two years ago, is a member of the ruling Demos coalition and had, until yesterday, been headed by republican Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel. The split of the party will result in a change in the ruling Demos coalition, the number of whose members will rise from the present six to seven.

Political analysts in Ljubljana estimate that this will result in major instability of the republican government, changes in the ratio of forces in the republican parliament and, consequently, deep changes on the political scene in Slovenia, which has recently unilaterally proclaimed independence from Yugoslavia.

Croatia

Croatian Defense Minister Comments on Army Actions

*AU1410105191 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
14 Oct 91 p 198*

[Interview with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak by unidentified DER SPIEGEL reporter; place and date not given: "They Act Like Barbarians"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Last week a new cease-fire was signed. However, because of the air raid alarm, we have to conduct this interview in your ministry's air raid shelter. Is this agreement as worthless as the previous ones?

[Susak] It looks as if this is again just a worthless piece of paper.

[DER SPIEGEL] Many Croatian soldiers think that another cease-fire would just be used by the Army units to take other positions and to attack.

[Susak] This is quite possible. So far we have seen that they stop at nothing. They do not act like soldiers, they act like barbarians. They bombed the president's palace, and the next day they wanted to bomb the cathedral and other historically precious monuments. This we know from radio messages that we intercepted. Thank god that this did not happen then.

[DER SPIEGEL] The new cease-fire mentions the Federal Army, but not the Chetniks and other Serbian units that are operating in Croatia.

[Susak] There is no difference anymore. All the Chetniks have now been integrated into the Army, which equips them with weapons and gives them orders. If the Army signs a cease-fire, there is a cease-fire. And if the Army breaks the cease-fire, it is broken.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does the Supreme Command still have all units under control?

[Susak] Yes, I think so. Kadijevic probably does not have much influence anymore. He was the most sensible on the other side, not like General Andrija Raseta, the deputy chief of the Fifth Army Command.

I called General Raseta and told him that his troops were attacking Vukovar from all sides. He answered that that could not be true because he did not know anything about it. I reminded him that he was on Croatian territory and that he should not forget that.

[DER SPIEGEL] Have you thought of arresting General Raseta?

[Susak] I don't think we will have any other choice if the cease-fire does not hold and they do not stop attacking. Someone must be held responsible for what they have done to Croatia.

[DER SPIEGEL] If the Federal Army really moves out of the blocked barracks, where will the troops go?

[Susak] This Army is a foreign entity on our territory. They have no place here. We only talk about how they withdraw—peacefully and without bloodshed, or whether we have to drive them away by force of arms.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are the Croats able to do that?

[Susak] In the classic sense we are not equipped for war. But this is not a classic war, but a liberation war. There are enough weapons in Croatia. The Army weapons that we will take away from them.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Army will take the weapons with them if they withdraw.

[Susak] This makes the negotiations so absurd. Europe will force us to permit the Yugoslav Federal Army to take their weapons to Serbia. But who is this Yugoslav Federal Army? Yugoslavia no longer exists.

[DER SPIEGEL] But the Army does exist.

[Susak] We must balance the accounts with Serbia. The Army can only play a role for a few more weeks. But for us the issue is defending the border with Serbia. It depends on how Bosnia and Hercegovina act. The longest stretch of this endangered border is between us and this republic.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you willing to carry the fight into Bosnia?

[Susak] This depends on whether Bosnia really wants to be neutral. It is not neutral if Sisak, Karlovac, or Dubrovnik are attacked from Bosnia. Our neighbors will have to come to a decision.

[DER SPIEGEL] What happens if Bosnia cannot prevent the Army troops on its territory from new attacks?

[Susak] Then Bosnia will be in the same situation as we are in now. It must fight against the Army. But I rule out our invading Bosnia.

[DER SPIEGEL] Let us assume that the politicians in Zagreb are willing to make certain territorial concessions to Serbia....

[Susak] we need not talk about this. This is completely impossible. We will not give up one centimeter of our territory. Not one centimeter!

[DER SPIEGEL] Is the number of Croatian officers defecting from the Army and now fighting against their former comrades increasing?

[Susak] Yes. We only know of one single Croatian general who is still serving in the Federal Army: an Air Force general in Belgrade.

[DER SPIEGEL] You yourself lived in Canada for 22 years and had a chicken restaurant there. Are you actually able to stand up to the Serbian generals?

[Susak] I am not fighting the generals. I organize the Ministry. We do not lack generals. (Sirens start howling) The sirens are sounding the all clear, I have to go upstairs again, to my work.

Serbian Part of Croatia Seeks Yugoslav Statehood

LD1110111491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Beli Manastir, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—Ilija Koncarevic, president of the Great People's Assembly of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, today sent a letter to Barnko Kostic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency, informing him that the region is being proclaimed "an independent federal unit of a new Yugoslav state, and its territorial defense has become an integral part of the country's armed forces." These decisions were made two days ago at a session of the Great People's Assembly held in Beli Manastir, Koncarevic reports adding that they give "full legitimacy to the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem to be directly represented in the SFRY Presidency."

A presidency which would include representatives of other regions interested in the survival of a Yugoslav community would function as a temporary body until new federal organs are constituted, the letter states.

The Great People's Assembly of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem expects that its president will be invited to attend future sessions of the SFRY Presidency, the letter sent to Brank Kostic concludes.

Croatian Serbs Seek Representation on Presidency

LD1510112991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1057 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Dalj, Yugoslavia, October 15 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the so-called Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem Goran Hadzic today asked that this territory in eastern Croatia be represented on the Yugoslav State Presidency. "The Serbian people who live in this region which is outside the Republic of Serbia, and which has now become Krajina and is no longer within Croatia, should have their own representative on the highest level in the state to which it wishes to belong," Hadzic told TANJUG. We do not wish to be a federal unit, Hadzic added, but we certainly wish to be independent.

Last week, representatives of the so-called Serbian region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem said they were in control of 3,000 sq. km. Of territory near the border with Vojvodina Province which is part of the biggest Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Hadzic also said that the Serbian region had expressed the desire to be accepted and to become part of the so-called Belgrade initiative, because they believe it cannot be implemented without them.

The so-called Belgrade initiative was launched this summer by Serbian Republican President Slobodan Milosevic, and it was accepted by the smallest federal unit of Montenegro and Serbian representatives in the leadership of the central Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Political Activity in Armed Forces Banned

LD1510123391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] In accordance with Article 100, paragraph one, of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, and Article 47 of the defense law, President of the Republic Franjo Tudjman has issued a decree banning political parties from activities in the Armed Forces.

The Ministry of Defense, the General Staff of the Croatian Army, and all commands of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia must without delay implement the provisions of Article 42, paragraphs one and two of the defense law and in particular the provisions banning any activity by political parties in the Armed Forces.

The decree imposes a ban on the following: the formation of political parties and organizing of meetings and entertainment programs by political parties and groups; membership in political parties of all military personnel and persons on service in the Armed Forces; the participation by uniformed army personnel at political meetings, processions, or demonstrations.

The minister of defense will, as required, issue instructions on how to implement the decree.

Zagreb News Conference Held on Vukovar Aid Convoy

LD1610004291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] A group of senior officials [odgovorni] in the International Red Cross convoy which during the past six days tried four times to enter Vukovar with humanitarian and medical aid held talks in Zagreb this afternoon with domestic and foreign journalists reporting on the war in Croatia. Ivan Skender, assistant minister of labor and social welfare in the Croatian Government, Vera Stanic, Sabor deputy, and Miljenko Majneri, one of the people accompanying the convoy from the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, set out in detail the chronology and organization of the mission, and ultimately the return of the convoy. They said, among other things, that the EC observer mission members accompanying the convoy displayed great personal courage, but unfortunately also naivety during their contacts with the representatives of the Yugoslav Army, who despite General Raseta's pledges from the outset in the field tried and, by resorting to assorted tricks, prevented the entry of the convoy into Vukovar. They said that local commanders in fact did not listen to Raseta, but had their direct orders from Belgrade. Besides, they were not in a position to control the unruly Chetnik rebels in the area.

As a completely new development, the people accompanying the Vukovar convoy stressed that after spending the night in the Vukovar army barracks, they subsequently discovered that 250 to 300 Croatian women and children from the Zajmstvo area were in the same building. For a long time it had been thought they had been killed, but obviously it was not true.

Reservists Stationed in Croatia Army Units Desert

LD1610031791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1719 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Topola, October 15 (TANJUG)—Military authorities today disarmed roughly 200 reservists from the town of Topola, Serbia, who deserted from their Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units stationed in the Republic of Croatia yesterday.

The Topola reservists said that they had left their units, among other reasons, because Serbia was not at war. Some of them said that they wanted to be under the command of Serbian officers.

The president of Yugoslavia on October 5 this year issued an order on the work of 'military courts of the first instance' in the conditions of an immediate danger of war, and it took a decision on the application of the provisions of the (?February penal code) which call for stiffer penalties for criminal acts against (?the armed forces).

The first (?sentences of the) Presidency of Yugoslavia decision were passed on October 11 in the case of six conscripts who had willfully left their JNA units in Croatia. The six were sentenced by a military court in the town of Nis, Serbia, to prison terms of between four to six months.

President of the Military Court in Nis, Col. Veljko Milic has said that the six conscripts were returned to their units to resume their military service.

Croatian Counterattack at Nova Gradiska Reported

LD1610112191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 16 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Fajgl from Nova Gradiska]

[Text] After the army of occupation attacked Nova Gradiska this morning with artillery fire from its stronghold in Dragalic, the Croatian forces carried out a sudden counterattack and then a truce followed. At around 0840, the air-raid sirens sounded.

On the western frontline, the Croatian Army's counter-attack is so strong that one enemy tank and two sniper and machinegun emplacements were destroyed in Dragalic this morning. In the same place, a building housing an ammunition dump of the occupying forces was hit, and the powerful explosion caused panic among the aggressors. There were no casualties among the Croatian forces, while the enemy, apart from suffering losses in war equipment, lost many soldiers. Fierce fighting on that battlefield is still underway. According to the last reports, members of the Croatian National Guard Corps and the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs are advancing and are slowly occupying that stronghold of the army of aggression that has been unconquerable so far.

Serbia

Army 'Provocation' After Kosovo Funeral

AU1510162191 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian
2115 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Our Ferizaj [Urosevac] correspondent Rexhep Rifati has reported that a column of military vehicles fired a hail of bullets from automatic rifles in the village of Lashkobare at about 1700 [1600 GMT] today. The inhabitants of Lashkobare said that they considered this a serious provocation on the part of the Army against the Albanian population. These shots were fired into the air only three hours after the burial of the soldier Muharrem

Faik Muharremi, another victim of the senseless and unjust war, in the presence of more than 20,000 people in the village of Staraselle. It seems that the Serbo-Communist generals think nothing of the deaths of young Albanians, and so they continue to harass the people in this way.

The Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights also reports the killing of another Albanian soldier on the battlefields of Croatia. This was Enver Maksuti from the village of Oroberde in Istog Commune, who was killed and buried in Djakovo in Croatia.

Radical Party's Seselj Assesses Serbian Aims

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[Interview with Vojislav Seselj, parliamentary representative of the Serbian Radical Party, by NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Demeter Pogar and BBC editor Peter Pallai in the Serbian parliament; date not given: "The 'Chetnik Voivode' States His Opinions"]

[Text] Vojislav Seselj, the "Chetnik Voivode," is nearly two meters tall. Those people in the world who support a negotiated solution to the Yugoslav crisis have turned to listen to this man's powerful voice and belligerent statements. At home, people view Seselj in different ways: Many people believe he is a fascist, others think of him as a secret ally of the governing party, and others still celebrate him as a national hero. Leading nationalist opposition politician Vuk Draskovic has turned away from Seselj, even though he is the godfather of the Chetnik Voivode. Seselj became a representative in the Serbian parliament as the result of a by-election.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Seselj. I first saw you in a photograph and you were holding a Kalashnikov. When do you think the number of victims will have reached its limit, so that the war will have to be stopped?

[Seselj] The photograph was taken in Knin, and the Kalashnikov was made in Hungary. (Incidentally, I keep that Kalashnikov in my apartment.) As for the war, it will be over when Serbia's territory is liberated, and when the Ustasas no longer reign over Serbian land. We have no objections to Croatian and Slovenian secession, but they cannot take Serbian territories with them. We will never forget our victims who died during World War II: The Ustasas killed 1 million Serbs, 60,000 Jews, and 35,000 Gypsies.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Does the weapon in your hand mean that you have fought, too?

[Seselj] Yes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] When did you fight? How many battles did you participate in?

[Seselj] We will talk about that when the war is over.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In connection with the territorial division of Croatia, you once told Hungarian Television that you would give the port of Fiume [Rijeka] to the Hungarians. Do you still stand by that?

[Seselj] That is correct; Rijeka used to be a Hungarian port, it was built by Hungarians. Yes, that is what I said. We have no objections to Rijeka returning to Hungary; in fact, Hungary could take back Croatia as well—without the Serbian territories, of course. Croatia stands no other chance of gaining its own statehood.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You seem to contradict yourself. Indeed, if you recognize the fact that Hungarians built Rijeka, then you should do the same for a series of towns in Vojvodina.

[Seselj] Those towns cannot be returned to Hungary on the same legal basis. After World War I, Vojvodina was given to Serbia, and Rijeka was given to Yugoslavia. If Yugoslavia falls apart, all of Serbia's parts will still belong to Serbia, but nothing indicates that the same should happen to the parts that were annexed to it. This means that Croatia could easily be a Hungarian territory, as it was for 900 years. On the same basis, Slovenia could belong to Austria and Istria could belong to Italy. It would also be better for us Serbs if our neighbors were Hungarians, Austrians, and Italians, rather than a traditional enemy state.

[NEPSZABADSAG] According to your logic, if Yugoslavia fell apart, the territories outside Serbia would break away from the republic—including the areas with a majority Serbian population.

[Seselj] When I speak of Serbia, I do not mean today's territory. For example, Macedonia used to belong to Serbia before World War I; Serbia's joint borders with Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania were internationally recognized, and they are inviolable. In 1918, the great people's Skupstina in Vojvodina decided that it wanted to belong to Serbia, and it confirmed this in several agreements. (NEPSZABADSAG note: Only one ethnic Hungarian representative took part in the voting.) As an independent state, Montenegro decided to join Serbia. In 1918, Serbia formed an alliance with Croatia and Slovenia, which had both drawn their borders arbitrarily. We want to keep the Serbian areas of these improvised states—like the Serbian areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Krajina, and Slavonia.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Please do not misunderstand this point: One of the minor details of the post-World War I peace treaties was forgotten, namely that a referendum was to be organized after 50 years to decide on the belonging of various territories. This referendum was not held. What do you think of that?

[Seselj] The referendum lost its meaning once the post-World War II borders had been drawn up. Incidentally, one can discuss a possible alteration of borders. You need two partners to do that. The only sources of tension are Serbia's western borders.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In Vojvodina it struck me that those who are not Serbian tend to fear your party. Is this fear justified?

[Seselj] I think that only those who do not have a clear conscience can fear us. I see no other reason for fear. Everyone knows our viewpoint: As long as the national minority groups who live with us do not question Serbia's national integrity and interests, they can be full citizens in our society.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Members of your party recently walked down the streets of Subotica, carrying arms. Can such actions not be frightening?

[Seselj] These armed people were members of the Serbian territorial defense force; it was not the party that was armed, but my bodyguards. You have to know that in Croatia, anyone who succeeds in murdering me will be given 300,000 Deutsche mark in blood-money, so I cannot go out alone. Yugoslav laws are clear in this respect: It is forbidden to carry automatic firearms, but seeing as my bodyguards were wearing uniforms, they were legally allowed to carry firearms.

[NEPSZABADSAG] I have heard that some leaders of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] have received threatening letters. Would the Serbian population not think it a provocation if these VMDK leaders also appeared with armed bodyguards?

[Seselj] If they did it like we did, not at all. If they turn to the headquarters of the territorial defense forces for help and ask for an armed escort, I see no difference between the two examples. We are opposed to any kind of party army or unconstitutional armed groups. The people accompanying me wear the uniform of the territorial defense forces. If this solution is unsatisfactory for the threatened leaders of the VMDK, they can also ask for help from the police. As far as I am concerned, the regime imprisoned me for one and a half months during last year's election campaign. Consequently, I do not trust them enough to ask for their protection.

Referendum Planned To Help Sandzak Muslims

AU1510084891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] In Novi Pazar, representatives of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo have decided to hold a referendum on 25, 26, and 27 October which, they feel, will make it possible for the residents of Sandzak to show what kind of future they want for themselves.

The Party of Democratic Action for Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo wants this referendum because they believe that Yugoslavia does not exist due to the separation of Slovenia and Croatia, and because, according to them, the Serbian Assembly has not satisfied even the minimal

demands regarding the cultural autonomy of the Muslims in Sandzak. This referendum, in fact, is planned for their benefit.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnian Assembly Discusses Sovereignty

AU1510143791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The Bosnia-Herzegovina parliament is still holding a debate on the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the future structure of the Yugoslav community. As time goes by, the conflicting views of the parties on the status of our republic are drifting further apart. For our news program, Risto Djogo, Milad Obradovic, Srdan Boranovic, and Zdenko Jenruh have prepared a report on the whole session.

[Unidentified reporter] Mariofil Ljubic informed the deputies that the interparliamentary group set up on Friday had not yet been able to find a common solution for the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Yugoslavia. Therefore, three proposals were submitted to the deputies: the already-published memorandum of the Party of Democratic Action [PDA], the proposal of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDP], and the proposal by the opposition.

Vojislav Maksimovic, on behalf of the deputies club of the SDP, proposed that Bosnia-Herzegovina continue to express its sovereignty within Yugoslavia. If Croatia becomes an internationally recognized subject, then the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina are permitted to have the right to self-determination as far as secession.

On behalf of the opposition, Ibrahim Sedakovic presented the essence of their proposal according to which Bosnia-Herzegovina is in a state that also includes Serbia and Croatia, and if international law recognizes the independence of Slovenia and Croatia then Bosnia-Herzegovina would initiate a constitutional-legal procedure to define the constitutional-legal status of this republic.

Radovan Spremo, on behalf of the Serbian Renewal Movement, said that this party no longer advocates Yugoslavia but Serbia and called on the Serbian deputies to set up a Serbian Assembly and Serbian government that would lead the interests of the Serbian people.

Ejup Ganic and Fikret Abdic, members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, advocated that the parliament take a stand regarding the platform of the Presidency, but Biljana Plavsic, also a Presidency member, thought that the memorandum is unnecessary because the position of Bosnia-Herzegovina has already been defined by the constitution as a part of Yugoslavia.

The speeches by several deputies covered the scope of the solutions offered by the parties. [passage omitted]

Obviously addressing the deputies of the PDA, [SDP President] Radovan Karadzic stressed that through their

attempted action they obviously want to invalidate the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina and go the way of Slovenia and Croatia.

[Begin Karadzic recording] In The Hague you want to ensure that this is the third or fourth republic that will not live in Yugoslavia. But you cannot do this because we want to live in Yugoslavia.

I am asking you once again. I am not threatening, but asking you, to take seriously the interpretation of the political will of the Serbian people who are represented here by the SDP and the Serbian Renewal Movement and a couple of Serbs from other parties. I ask you to take seriously the fact that what you are doing is not good. Is this the road onto which you want to direct Bosnia-Herzegovina, the same highway to hell and suffering that Slovenia and Croatia are traveling?

Do not think that you will not lead Bosnia-Herzegovina into hell, and do not think that you will not perhaps lead the Muslim people into annihilation, because the Muslim people cannot defend themselves if there is war [boos and whistles].

Let there be great words. Great situations demand great words. How will you prevent everyone from being killed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. How can war be prevented in Croatia, particularly in the border areas where Serbs and Croats live side by side, whose two political wills have clashed and have not been realized in a legal way, in the only way that they can be realized. [end recording]

[Reporter] After the speech by Radovan Karadzic there was immediate reaction from the highest level. Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and president of the PDA, evaluated the speech by Radovan Karadzic and the way this speech was made as the main reasons why the Muslims do not want to remain in Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic added:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] His manner and his messages perhaps explain why others also refuse to stay in such a Yugoslavia. Nobody else wants the kind of Yugoslavia that Mr. Karadzic wants any more, no one except perhaps the Serbian people. Such a Yugoslavia and such manners of Karadzic are simply hated by the peoples of Yugoslavia, by Slovenes, Croats, Macedonians, Albanians, Hungarians, Muslims, and by Europe and the world. [end recording]

[Reporter] In the hope that Serbian people will acquire new leaders, leaders with whom it will be possible to discuss coexistence in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Izetbegovic addressed a message to the citizens and peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I still want to say to the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina not to fear, because there will be no war; that is my prediction based on some facts, on some confirmed facts. Therefore sleep peacefully, there is no need to fear because it takes two to tangle. [applause]

We are not going to attack anyone; I have said that on a number of occasions, and I repeat it now. The Muslim people—I am sorry that I have to speak this way being president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but in this situation I must talk for the Muslim people—I solemnly state that the Muslim people will not attack anyone. However, just as solemnly I state that they will defend themselves with great determination and survive. Thus they will not disappear as Karadzic stated; they cannot disappear. [end recording]

[Reporter] Following this, Izetbegovic attempted to explain why the memorandum proposed by the PDA aroused such a harsh reaction of the deputies and the leaders of the SDP. The memorandum, according to Izetbegovic, only confirmed the regulations in the present constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This did not deserve the harsh words of Radovan Karadzic, whose speech, repeated Izetbegovic, heralds the kind of Yugoslavia in which neither Muslims, nor anyone else, other than Serbs would want to live.

Speaking about relations with the Yugoslav People's Army, Izetbegovic stated that Bosnia-Herzegovina has nothing against the regular troops of the Yugoslav People's Army, which in fact function as a stabilizing factor in this area at this time, when 200,000 citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina are armed. Nor will there be any problems with this army, added Izetbegovic, but there are problems with reservists, whose behavior is reproached by the Yugoslav People's Army itself.

As far as the opinions about the memorandum are concerned, Izetbegovic asked the delegates to vote on it, because Bosnia-Herzegovina representatives in The Hague and in all other negotiations regarding the future of Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina need to have a platform on the state-legal status of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the delegates refuse to express their opinions, then it will be necessary to organize a plebiscite of the peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was Alija Izetbegovic's conclusion with which he finished his speech and after which Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly, announced a new recess.